University of Alberta

Found in Translation: The Journey of Anne Hébert's Poetry in(to) English

by

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Canada

Abstract

Anne Hébert is one of Quebec's most widely-read and celebrated authors, yet the English-speaking world knows Hébert primarily through translation. She is one of Quebec's most-translated authors into English. Anne Hébert is a rarity in Canadian Literature, as there has been a multiplicity of translations of her poetry. Indeed, there are five major (F.R. Scott, Peter Miller, Allan Brown, Alfred Poulin Jr., Lola Lemire Tostevin) and eleven minor (Graham Dunstan Martin, Fred Cogswell, Gwaldys Downes, John Glassco, G.R. Roy, Ralph Gustafson, Aliki and Willis Barnstone, Kathleen Weaver, Janis Pallister, Daniel Sloate, Maxine Kuman) translators of her poetry. She is also one of the most anthologized poets from French Canada. Moreover, the process of translating Hébert's poetry has also left in its wake a number of archival resources that chronicle the individual acts of translation. All of these materials are invaluable in understanding the systems in place that influence the mediated process that is translation. This dissertation 'deals with those in the middle,' those who are responsible for Anne Hébert's image as a poet in English. It is a narrative history on the evolution of her image as a poet in English.

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The idea for this dissertation came while I was still an undergraduate student at the Université de Sherbrooke. Dr. Richard Giguère introduced me to the poetry of Anne Hébert and *Dialogue sur la traduction*. He also allowed me to begin comparing translations of "The Tomb of Kings" for my paper in his class. I will be eternally grateful for the wonderful journey he unknowingly sent me on. I would also like to thank Dr. Gregory J. Reid for his supervision of a long MA thesis. If I hadn't ever completed that, I would never have arrived here.

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Introduction: The Stories of...

André Lefevere writes the following in the introduction to his book *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*:

> This book deals with those in the middle, the men and women who do not write literature, but rewrite it. It does so because they are, at present, responsible for the general reception and survival of works of literature among non-professional readers, who constitute the great majority of readers in our global culture, to at least the same, if not a greater extent than the writers themselves. (1)

Anne Hébert is one of Quebec's most widely read and celebrated authors, yet the English-speaking world knows Hébert primarily through translation. She is one of Quebec's most-translated authors into English (see Koustas "Loaded Canons" for the comparison). Accordingly, there exists a large corpus of critical works concerning the author in English (see Godard, Sirois, Hayward and Lamontagne). This dissertation 'deals with those in the middle,' those who are responsible for Hébert's image as a poet in English.

Hébert is a rarity in Canadian literature, as there have been multiple translations of her poetry. Indeed, there are five major translators of her poetry (F.R. Scott, Peter Miller, Allan Brown, Alfred Poulin Jr., Lola Lemire Tostevin) and twelve minor ones (Graham Dunstan Martin, Fred Cogswell, Gwaldys Downes, John Glassco, G.R. Roy, Ralph Gustafson, Aliki and Willis Barnstone, Kathleen Weaver, Janis Pallister, Daniel Sloate, Maxine Kuman). These translations have been produced at various points over the last 40 years, and originate in Canada, the United States, and Scotland.

Moreover, the process of translating Hébert's poetry has left in its wake a number of archival resources that chronicle the individual acts of translation. For example, both F.R. Scott and Alan Brown carried on an extensive correspondence with Hébert concerning their respective translations. Peter Miller and Alfred Poulin Jr. engaged in epistolary dialogues with other translators and authors regarding their work on Hébert. Publishers and editors communicated with translators concerning their various translations of her poetry. All of these materials are invaluable for understanding the systems that influence the mediated process that is translation. Yet even though they provide first-person evidence that speaks to the process, archival materials are rarely consulted in order to understand the system that influences a translation.

Hébert and her writing remain a central and dynamic influence on the process as well. The first translations by Scott and their conversations concerning Hébert's poetry took place early in her career, while the translations by Poulin and Tostevin occurred after Hébert had created a significant literary corpus. Theoretically, we have a very different understanding of her work now than we did forty years ago. A case in point is Hébert's poem, "Le Tombeau des rois" (1953): for the first twenty years after its publication this poem was read primarily as a national allegory. But when Patricia Smart published *Écrire dans la maison du père* in 1988,[1] readers of Hébert were introduced to the idea of reading the same poem from a feminist perspective. The dynamic nature of literary criticism and the particular critical circumstances surrounding each of the translations need to be taken into consideration when seeking a better understanding of literary translations (see Flotow, Robinson).

I wish to examine the systems that influenced the translators and, thus, the various translations of Hébert's poetry. I will focus on the three following areas, as outlined by Kathy Mezei: "the particular system of the text, the system of the culture out of which the text has sprung, and the cultural system in which the [translation has been] created" ("Speak White" 15) and how this affects the image of the author in English. I will be taking a modified polysystem approach to my study, as put forward by Gideon Toury and others, in an effort to consider any and all influences on the translation and translator. For example, we can look at the translation of a selection of Hébert's poems by Graham Dunstan Martin for an anthology of modern *French* poets where Hébert is only one of two Québec poets included – and is not identified as such. Thus, from the translator's perspective, as well as the reader's, Hébert loses her specific socio-geographical position as a Québécoise ("the particular system of the culture out of which the text has sprung"), and instead is placed in the larger context of "French" which influences how the translated work is transmitted and received.

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[1] Smart translated book herself as *Writing in the Father's House*, published in 1991.

In particular, however, I wish to focus on the role the author herself played in influencing the translations. Hébert's correspondence with the translators clearly had an effect (see *Dialogue sur la traduction* with F.R. Scott). There has not yet been an extensive and systematic study evaluating the effect and influence of an author on the final translated product. E.D. Blodgett and Marcel Voisin have put forward short studies concerning *Dialogue*, and Sherry Simon has identified a number of other situations within the Canadian context where authors and translators have collaborated, but not with the same level of focus and detail that I intend here. Given the extensive nature of Hébert's dialogues with her translators, this case study is perfectly suited to begin to theorize the influence and impact of the author on the translators. Also, by comparing her early commentary (Scott) with the later correspondence (Poulin), we can examine the author's own evolving view of her works as well as the influence the author had on shaping her identity as a poet in English.

Anne Hébert's Poetry and Its Translations

Anne Hébert published her first collection of poems, entitled *Les Songes en équilibre*, in 1942. Jeanne l'Archevêque-Dugay, in a review, stated that "[un] livre est beau et grand quand, en le méditant, nous sentons qu'il enrichit l'esprit, élève l'âme, enchante l'oreille. *Les Songes en équilibre* remplissent cette mission" (10). Eleven years later, in 1953, Hébert published *Le Tombeau des rois*, which firmly established her as a new and important poetic voice emerging from Quebec, and prompted Gilles Marcotte to call her "un grand poète" (n.p.). In 1960, after having published her first novel, Hébert released *Poèmes*, a book containing the poems from *Le Tombeau des rois*, as well as a new collection, *Mystère de la parole*, for which she won a Governor-General's Award. Hébert would publish poems only sporadically after that time, concentrating instead on prose writing, until 1992 when *Le Jour n'a d'égal que la nuit* appeared, which was a collection of older, uncollected poems, as well as new ones. Grazia Merler outlined the evolution that had taken place in this new collection: "A la différence, cependant, des trois autres recueils qui tracent un parcours intime et spirituel de la mort vers la vie, celui-ci explore différentes attitudes à l'égard de la vie et de la réalité quotidienne, différents états d'âme et impressions" (110). One year later, *Oeuvre poétique: 1950-1990*[2] was published, containing all of her collections of poems, except *Les Songes en équilibre*. Her final collection of poems, *Poèmes pour la main gauche*, was published in 1997. André Brochu noted the full-circle Hébert had completed: "L'auteur renoue avec la perfection du discours, la diction très personnelle, l'originalité profonde du *Tombeau des rois*, sans toutefois répéter l'exploit du poème-synthèse qui terminait le recueil de 1953" (259).

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[2] All quotes from Anne Hébert's poetry in French come from this edition, unless otherwise noted.

Criticism surrounding Hébert's poetry can be divided into three general thematic areas: nationalism, feminism, and universalism. The nationalist interpretation was one of the first approaches and dominated the critical discourse for many years. This emphasis focuses on Hébert's symbols as representative of Quebec culture and society. *Le dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec* offers this type of nationalistic interpretation of *Le Tombeau des rois* by Pierre-Hervé Lemieux:

> Mais la grande poésie se montre capable non seulement de recueillir mais aussi de faire crouler l'expérience *commune* enfouie en la mémoire…Un tel renversement, celui qu'opère *le Tombeau des rois*, est proprement *historique* même s'il a pu passer presque inaperçu malgré les critiques louangeuses qui revélaient en fait la fusion réussie d'une écriture toute personnelle et *d'une préoccupation collective*. Il est enfin significatif que cet exploit, comme le signale Pierre Emmanuel, le préfacier, s'opère *'à Québec'*, en cette capitale, défavorisée par tant de séquelles *coloniales ou cléricales* et qui regagne ainsi, – *comme avec Saint-Denys Garneau, Alain Grandbois et Roger Lemelin*, – quelque chose du leadership littéraire ancien qu'elle avait perdu. (1001, emphasis added)

Here we see the tendency to inflate the poems as symbols of Quebec culture and society: the oppression of "la grande noirceur." Lemieux is not the only critic who sees Hébert's poetry through this lens, as Axel Maugey, René Lacôte, Albert LeGrand, Denis Bouchard, Pierre Pagé, and Pierre Popovic, among others, all share to varying degrees in this perspective.

The universalist[3] perspective was equally popular and evolved simultaneously with the nationalist stream. Within this group there are a number of sub-divisions; these sub-divisions, however, all share the tendency to abandon a political interpretation for a more general interpretation, choosing instead to link Hébert's poetic vision to larger poetic traditions. One of the more common approaches to Hébert's poetry is a structuralist analysis – for instance Jean-Louis Major and Delbert W. Russell. Other methodologies include those linking her to the modernist tradition (Philip Haeck, Marilyn Gaddis Rose and Robert Harvey) or the symbolist tradition (France Nazaire Garant, Guy Robert, Évelyne Voldeng, Janis Pallister, and Lucille Roy). These critics have all chosen a primarily apolitical approach to Hébert's poems.

These two broadly defined critical foci dominated until the 1980s when Patricia Smart, one of the first critics to offer a new feminine/feminist reading of the collection of poems, published an article entitled "La poésie d'Anne Hébert: une perspective féministe." Studying Hébert's first three collections, Smart attempts to give:

> …une nouvelle cohérence et une portée autrement lorsque [l'oeuvre poétique d'Anne Hébert] est regardée selon une perspective féminine. Les traits spécifiques de la féminité tels que définis par Clément, Cixous et d'autres – monde renversé porteur d'un nouvel ordre, subversion instaurée par le regard d'une enfant sauvage, affirmation de la puissance d'Éros contre le pouvoir répressif du Logos – sont en effet les clefs de voûte de l'univers hébertien." (178)

---

[3] I use the term "universal" and "international" or "world literature" as understood by Pascale Casanova in *Le République Mondiale des Lettres*. She defines universal criteria of literature as a "pôle autonome" created in "les espaces littéraires les plus dotés en ressources littéraire, qui servent de modèle et de recours à tous les écrivains revendiquant une position d'autonomie dans les espaces en formation" which are "dénationalisée," that is, neutral or apolitical (154-5). International authors are "ceux qui ont recours au modèle autonome de la littérature" (157). This "modèle autonome" is the "universal," "une mesure commune de la valeur littéraire" and "un point de repère 'littérairement absolu'" (156).

Specifically, in dealing with *Le Tombeau des rois*, Smart points out how Hébert uses the image of the house as not just a "symbole abstrait de l'isolement et de l'enfermement" but instead as "l'habitation d'une femme onirique, sorte de Rapunzel liée à son sort par un décret de fidélité antérieur de sa volonté" (181). Hébert questions and problematizes traditionally "female" jobs such as setting the table ("La chambre fermée"), sewing ("La chambre de bois") and even cleaning ("La fille maigre," "Une petite morte") by pairing them off with bizarre and morbid imagery:

> Qui donc a pris la juste mesure
> De la croix tremblante de mes bras étendus?
> ...
> Mon coeur sur la table posé,
> Qui donc a mis le couvert avec soin
> Affilé le petit couteau...(*Oeuvre* 35)

Smart also speaks of Hébert's critique of the matriarchy, that "perpétu[e] le règne de la mort en prêchant la douceur et la perte de soi" (178), illustrated in the final verses of the poem "Les pêcheurs d'eau":

> Tout l'arbre droit,
> Et l'oiseau,
> Cette espèce de roi
> Miniscule et naïf.
> Et puis, aussi,
> Cette femme qui coud
> Au pied de l'arbre
> Sous le coup de midi
>
> Cette femme assise
> Refait, point à point,
> L'humilité du monde,
> Rien qu'avec la douce patience
> De ses deux mains brûlées. (*Oeuvre* 16-17)

Here we see not only the subversion of traditionally "female" acts; note as well that the woman, despite being visibly harmed, remains a passive, tiny king (a female trying to be male) and maintains the status quo. Victim of this preached passivity, the narrator is led to the final poem where

> …la passivité féminine est amenée à son ultime et plus terrible conséquence: le consentement au viol. La rencontre de la mort est vécue comme une noce étrange, exorcisme peut-être des derniers relents de masochisme dans la psyché féminine. Il est significatif que la victime soit préparée au sacrifice par 'l'ombre de l'amour', et que sa libération coïncide avec l'introduction d'une figure féminin *active* – la chasseresse…(182)

We can see through this re-reading how Hébert's collection of poems can quite readily lend itself to this more feminine/feminist interpretation.

Smart continues her analysis of Hébert's poetry in her book *Writing in the Father's House: The Emergence of the Feminine in the Quebec Literary Tradition*, comparing the poet's style to that of her cousin, Hector Saint-Denys Garneau, in order to discover the "feminine" in Hébert's style. This comparison is possible because, in Smart's words:

> For the critic seeking to detect the presence of gender differences in writing, the most telling results are those obtained by comparing works in which variables other than gender (such as time period and social class) are as close as possible to being identical. For this reason, the work of Hector de Saint-Denys Garneau and Anne Hébert – two major poets who were not only first cousins, but were raised in precisely the same social and family milieu and influenced by the same Jansenist/Catholic value system – offer a rare opportunity in comparative analysis. (131)

Smart concludes that the two authors treat the same symbols (water, the house, the closed room, the reduction of the body to its skeletal structure, the gaze of the child) in very different ways. While "Garneau will…remain a victim of what he perceives as anonymous forces gradually sucking the life out of him" (134), Hébert is "[carried] forward by erotic energy that accompanies the emergence of the 'daughter's' voice, [she] moves unerringly towards transgression of the Law and transformation of the symbolic heritage" (135). The feminine/feminist is born, while the "son" remains trapped and stagnant.

Smart's critical lens gained popularity and was expanded by a number of critics, including Maurice Émond, Nicole Bourbonnais, Joanne Collie, Lorraine Weir, Kathleen Kells, and Liliane Lacoste. In fact, the majority of new studies devoted to Hébert's poetry are from a feminist perspective.

As Lawrence Venuti says about the process of translation, "Every stage in the production, circulation and reception of a translation is profoundly marked by its historical moment, tracing a history that is distinct from the history of foreign text" ("Translation" 3). Almost all of Hébert's early translators identified politics as being one of the chief motivating factors behind their choices to translate her poems. For example, Frank Scott, her most important translator, was, among other things, a politician who believed in a bilingual and bicultural Canada. Translating poetry and attempting to promote understanding of the "other" was important to him: "[The translations] may serve, not only to open a window on another culture or country, as Scott makes explicit in his introduction to his *Poems of French Canada*, but to open windows on the unknown country as ourselves as English Canadians" (Jones, "F.R. Scott" 163). In Scott's case, the politician was never very far from the translator: "Consider Scott, a member of the League for Social Reconstruction, translating Anne Hébert's 'Vie de château'" (Jones, "F.R. Scott" 160). Hébert's poems (or at least the political interpretation of the poems) reflected Scott's own views on the political situation in Quebec leading up to the Quiet Revolution: "[t]here has been no love lost between F.R. Scott and the Quebec of Maurice

Duplessis" (Jones, "F.R. Scott" 160). As expanded by Sandra Djwa: "Not only did 'Le Tombeau des rois' express the same metaphysical concerns that had so often preoccupied Scott…but Hébert saw Quebec society as he did" (380). While translating was highly political for Scott, the specific poem "Le Tombeau des rois" was highly personal. Djwa muses as to the possible reason why Scott neglects the gender of the protagonist in the title poem: "Did Scott so identify with the protagonist of the Hébert poem that the clearly feminine persona is given the possibility of being a young boy?" (381). His obsession with the poems and its images continued throughout his life: after a heart attack he suffered while fighting Quebec's language laws, Scott remarked that "something has me by the ankle and won't let go" (qtd. in Djwa 382). On his deathbed, Scott was still trying to translate the poem.

The anthologies that contain a significant number of Hébert's poems tend also to approach her poetry from a political perspective. John Glassco states in his introduction to *The Poetry of French Canada in Translation*: "It will be seen that the poetry of French Canada is a poetry of exile—from France and North America alike—and that the note of desertion, of nostalgia, of the *dépaysé*, recurs constantly, forming a kind of ground-bass to themes of avoidance, retreat and escape" (xvii-xviii). G.R. Roy, although not commenting on the poems themselves, echoes the sentiments of Miller, Scott, and Poulin: "Canada, one of the few countries which officially recognizes more than one language, has a duty to make each race known to the other. This cannot be accomplished on the floor of a bilingual Parliament; it can be accomplished in the home of the private citizen. For this reason it was felt that a sampling of modern French-Canadian verse in translation would help fill a cultural need" (v). The act of translating and anthologizing Hébert remained a political endeavor for many.

While it was the 1980s before the critics began to consider Hébert from a feminist perspective, translators themselves were identifying with her as "Woman Poet" as early as the 1970s. *The Other Voice: Twentieth Century Women's Poetry in Translation* (1976), *The Penguin Book of Women Poets* (1979) and *A Book of Women Poets from Antiquity to Now* (1980) obviously identified with the female voice in Hébert's poetry. As stated by the editors (one of whom translated Hébert's poetry) in the preface to *The Penguin Book of Women Poets*: "There are several contexts that condition the work of every writer: national history, cultural milieu, individual experience. We have tried to illuminate the additional context of sexual identity as it may affect the poetry of women across the lines of time and culture" (Cosman *et al* 33). This sentiment is echoed in the introductions to two other anthologies as well.

There exist, however, those who have translated Hébert from a more universalist perspective. Graham Martin, in his *Anthology of Contemporary French Poetry* (1972), places Hébert in the French Surrealist Movement. He goes on to make the following comment concerning those non-Parisian poets in the anthology: "I have included two coloured and two French Canadian poets, but practically none of their poems given here could be said to involve a possible political theme" (11). Although he acknowledges that poets from French Canada have been included, nowhere are they identified. D.G. Jones also seems to deemphasize the political for simply the geographical in his introduction to the anthology, *Esprit de Corps: Québec Poetry of the Late Twentieth Century in Translation* (1997): "Clearly this collection of poems is not that of the Bloc [Québécois], of some single national voice...We may recall the nationalism of the sixties when Miron, in a foreign country, feels the memory of his own land rise like a lump in his throat, but we may find his remarks that his life is a black hole more unexpected, more striking" (9). While Gwladys Downes' translations of Hébert appeared in John Glassco's anthology, she also included them in her own book of original poetry, *Out of the Violent Dark*. Janis Pallister's translations appeared in *The Age of Koestler*, a book of poetry and translations in honor of Arthur Koestler. Here we see a very definite shift in how Hébert's poetry is understood and translated.

One final note on Hébert and the translations of her poems into English. This study excludes the author's novels in English but cannot ignore the influence that her novel *Kamouraska* and its English translation and movie adaptation had on her visibility and popularity internationally. As the winner of the 1971 Prix des Libraires de France in 1971, the rights for the novel were almost immediately bought by Crown Publishers, a large American publishing house, and translated by an American, Norman Shapiro. The film adaptation by Claude Jutra was released the same year (1973) as the English translation and was a critical success both in Canada and abroad, increasing Hébert's visibility. The content of the book (and the movie) also seems to have attracted a more feminist reading and thereby a whole new range of scholars to her work. Throughout the following study, one notices a sharp rise in interest in and shift in approaches to Hébert after the novel and movie are released, particularly in the US.

Translation Studies and the Author

Very little research has been done in the area of formal translation studies concerning the possible role of the author within the process of translating. As I understand it, this lack of attention to the author and the role that he or she may play in translations is traceable to the fact that most recent theories of translation deal with translations done "from a distance." These theories also work to reclaim (or condemn) the power of the translator. What I mean by translations done "from a distance" is that the translational situations studied are either historically distant or culturally distant. We may look at situations where the translator is translating a text where the author and culture of origin are both long dead. Or we look at situations where the author and culture of origin are geographically and linguistically distant. Either way, because of limits in time, geography, or linguistic aptitude, translators often work alone with the text in question.[4]

These same theories place the translator as the central figure responsible for producing the translated text. Whether it is to celebrate this power (*e.g.*, Venuti) or to question it (*e.g.*, Lefevere, and Hewson and Martin), theorists place most, if not all, of the power in the hands of the translator. When more general literary theory puts forward the argument that the author is dead and calls for "the birth of the reader" (Barthes 150), it is not terribly surprising that the focus moves from the author to the reader/translator and the forces that act upon him/her. This is not to say that it is impossible to incorporate the possible influence of the author on the translator; in fact, the polysystem approach leaves open the possibility of *all* influences acting on the translator. As put by Alexandra Lianeri:

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[4] This observation is echoed by Wolfram Wilss in *The Science of Translation*, 1982. He expresses the idea slightly differently: "Frequently the translator does not know, at least personally, the author, on whom he is working, and to make things worse, in many cases he does not know the destination of his translation product either...[therefore] close collaboration between [source language text] author, translator, and [target language text] reader seems to be rare" (144).

> Described in Even-Zohar's terms, a 'polysystem' is inherently multidimensional. It is able to accommodate taxonomies established in the realm of literature (the division between high and low literature), translation (the division between translation and non translation), and other modes of cultural production, as well as the realm of social relations (the division between dominant and dominated social groups). The need to account for the relations between these two realms, to describe translation not as a phenomenon existing in isolation, but as an integral part of a sociocultural totality, leads polysystem model to the supposition of norms and laws of translation production. (4)

All that is required is to examine those instances where the author becomes involved in the translation, incorporating them into the larger polysystem.

Points of contact between author and translator do, indeed, exist. One of the most explicit forms of contact/influence is the author's refusal to be translated. Douglas Robinson outlines such a situation in his book *Translation and Taboo*. He wishes to translate Navajo poet, Rex Lee Jim, and is refused because "...if [Jim] had wanted [the poems] in English he would have written them in English. They were not written for the white man to exploit" (173). Robinson takes this statement and incorporates it within his theory of cultural taboo and translation, but in so doing, shifts the focus away from the author and back towards socio-cultural pressures as outlined by Toury. This strategy, however, fails to acknowledge the authority that the author still maintains over his/her text, exercised here through a refusal to be translated. Such a refusal affects the process of translation in the most extreme way: the author stopped the process before it even began. In this case, the translator still has the power to translate the texts; yet he or she may not be able to publish them because of copyright restrictions. Ultimately, power lies with the translator, but the author has reclaimed authority over the text. Edwin Gentzler points to the situation between translator Suzanne Jill Levine and author Cabrera Infante, as outlined in her book *The Subversive Scribe*, troubling this power/authority relationship. As he observes: "Without [the author's] authority, could she ever publish her work?" (204). This is one example of how an author can influence, in an extreme way, the translation of his or her work.

Another way of looking at the relationship between translator and author is addressed by Myriam Diaz-Diocartz in her book *Translating Poetic Discourse*. Diaz-Diocartz analyzes her own translations of Adrienne Rich's poetry, and the translation in poetry in general and observes: "a poetic text integrates a composite known as the poet's personality" (9). Understanding this personality is of central importance in order to ensure proper translation. In translating Rich, Diaz-Diocartz "found it necessary to understand the poet's tradition, her 'voice' and the different perceptions reflected in her own world vision" (40). The process involved "extra-textual" materials in order to get to know the author and her world. While direct contact with the author is not addressed, it does not preclude author-translator interactions as part of the extra-textual resources examined by the translator. This complex relationship between author and translator, as well as the translators' interaction with extra-textual materials is highlighted in Hébert's case, and is explored in the chapters that follow.

One of the more interesting aspects of the case of Hébert and her translators is that most of her translators were poets and critics in their own right. This would seem to have an effect on the relationship between both Hébert and her translators, and between the translators and their translations. There have always been questions of authorship in regards to translated works, and the specter of a "name" author as the translator (as well as the circumstances of the publication of said translations) can further confuse an already murky understanding of authorship. Further, the identity of the poet/translator would necessarily come into conflict with the identity of the poet to be translated, creating tensions that might not be present otherwise. As critics, the general critical approach of the translator may taint the reception of his/her translation; the attitude of the critic overshadows the poetry. At the same time, it should not be terribly surprising that Hébert was translated by other poet/critics. As put by James S. Holmes:

> In order to create a verbal object of the metapoetic kind, one must perform some (but not all) of the functions of a critic, some (but not all) of the functions of a poet, and some functions not normally required of either critic or poet. Like the critic, the metapoet will strive to comprehend as thoroughly as possible the many features of the original poem, against the setting of the poet's other writings, the literary traditions of the source culture, and the expressive means of the target language. Like the poet, he will strive to exploit his own creative powers, the literary traditions of the target culture, and the expressive means of the target language in order to produce a verbal object that to all appearances is nothing more nor less than a poem. (11)

How these poet-critic translators (or metapoets, according to Holmes) and Hébert herself navigate these complexities is another issue explored in the chapters that follow.

Translation in Canada

In the Canadian context of translation, the author has at least been acknowledged as being present within the system. Canada is unique in that there is an, albeit erroneous, expectation that because it is a bilingual country, both author and translator will be familiar with both official languages. The bicultural situation also increases opportunities for points of contact between cultures, and between author and translator. Of course, in the case of Hébert the most obvious example is *Dialogue sur la Traduction*, between the author and F.R. Scott. Northrop Frye calls this exchange "fascinating" and observes in his introduction to the book that

> ...it is clear that without the stimulus of the other language, Mlle / Hébert would never have discovered so much about her own meaning. Translation here becomes a creative achievement in communication, not merely a necessary evil or a removal of barriers. One can hardly learn more in less compass about the kind of craftsmanship that goes into the making of poetry than is given in these few pages. (15)

In her own separate introduction, Jeanne Lapointe calls *Dialogue* a "rencontre privilégiée entre Anne Hébert et Frank Scott que les lecteurs des pages qui suivent sont aussi conviés" (27). Hébert herself describes the experience as "une sorte de prise de conscience" (Smith, *L'écrivain* 45). What is so interesting about this situation is that although seemingly generating interest and excitement (including a re-issue of the book by Bibliothèque québécoise in 2000), no other work such as this has been published, nor has there been much critical interest in the book itself.

This is not to say that there do not exist other situations similar to that of Hébert and Scott. In *Mapping Literature: The Art and Politics of Translation*, edited by David Homel and Sherry Simon, Joyce Marshall and Robert Melançon describe the intimate collaboration they maintained with either the authors they translated or their own translators. Marshall illustrates, however, through her own experience why these collaborations do not often happen: "Gabrielle [Roy] knew a lot of English, and her knowledge of what English words meant was almost perfect, but her knowledge of English grammar and English usage was nil, and our discussions would end with my screaming, *No, no, no!*" (18). The author may not be proficient enough in the target language to maintain a meaningful dialogue with the translator. Nonetheless, Melançon shows us how useful the collaboration can be for the author: "when Philip Stratford started to translate [*Peinture aveugle*], the inadequacies just leapt off the page...His translation showed me so much that I was able to do the revisions that I have long known were necessary. The translator is the ideal reader, the one who truly reads the whole work and can show it in its entirety to the author—the translator can become what Plato called a 'diamon,' whispering verses to the poet" (23). Iren Kiss goes so far as to suggest that "translators consult the original author when they have to make difficult choices, and share the responsibility for those choices" (26). Obviously, the impact of the author on the translator and vice-versa cannot simply be ignored, given the complexity and possible benefits of such collaboration.

Recently, Jane Everett edited *In Translation: The Gabrielle Roy-Joyce Marshall Correspondence* (2005). The collection contains 208 letters written over 21 years and traces the relationship between the writer (Roy) and the translator (Marshall), who was also a writer in her own right. Curiously, Everett offers little critical or analytical framework for approaching the letters: "In papers presented at conferences, I have made some attempts at analysing this correspondence; I have not done so here, partly because I am reluctant to suggest ways of reading the text when my own interpretations of the letters is still evolving, but also because any conclusions arrived at would risk being partial and subject to revision" (xxi). She goes on to explain the shortcomings of such a collection, but concludes that the interest in these letters far outweighs their faults: "although this correspondence cannot provide a complete portrait of Joyce Marshall's and Gabrielle Roy's personal and professional relationship, the letters do offer thought-provoking glimpses of this partnership, as well as the creative process and of the writerly life more generally...all of which invite reflection, if not, for the moment, interpretation" (xxi-xxii). This same incompleteness exists in the case of Hébert and her translators but nonetheless still "invite reflection" and some degree of interpretation.

There are a number of similarities between the situation of Roy and Hébert with respect to their translators. Both had numerous translators with whom they interacted with varying degrees of success over the course of their careers. While Everett focuses on the Roy-Marshall relationship, Darlene Kelly chooses to look at Roy's relationship with translator Harry Lorin Binsse. Kelly is specifically concerned with, as the subtitle of the article suggests, "How Their Disputes Shaped the Text." Using a variety of archival resources, including the Roy-Marshall papers, she reconstructs the complex interaction between author and translator, ultimately leading to Roy's "firing" of Binsse in 1962 (87). The use of archival resources is essential to her study, and Kelly concludes that

> When reading a fluently translated work, most people rarely wonder about how well it preserves the original, the translator's voice being indistinguishable in their minds from the author's own. A similar equation of Binsse with Roy might have occurred, had not long-overlooked archival documents, like a lost piece of film footage, exposed their old quarrels, in the process of both illuminating both the texts and Roy herself...Archival data also permits us to attribute a more complex motive to Roy's dismissal of Binsse than was suggested by her vague complaint about 'tiraillements.'" (101)

Here we see the potential of archival research to move us far beyond reflection and into the realm of interpretation and insight in the field of translation studies.

Yet, despite these and many other examples (David Homel and Dany Laferrière's long-time collaboration, as well the interactions between English and French Canadian feminists immediately come to mind), there exists very little theoretical work regarding these relationships. Sherry Simon perhaps comes closest to offering a reading of the Canadian phenomenon of collaboration between author and translator when she asks the question in the Introduction to *Culture in Transit*: "how does the dialogue between communities (political, linguistic, cultural, literary) influence the dynamics of translation?" and offers the answer: "the translator's mandate is grounded in a commitment to both the author and the social movements which give energy to his or her work" (9). Simon is also one of the few scholars who consistently identify these points of contact and collaboration within the Canadian context. I would contend, however, that Simon is not going far enough in her analysis of the situations where the author is involved somehow in the translation of his/her work. Using a modified polysystem approach, I will attempt a theory that takes into consideration the author's possible influence that also relies on the information available to us through the archive.

The Archive and Translation

A recent issue of *English Studies in Canada* focuses exclusively on the study of archives and their importance to our understanding of "more specific concerns [such as] complicity and critique, spectacle and speculation, subjectivity and objectivity, authority and authenticity, history and historiography, culture and commodity" (10), as put by the editors Michael O'Driscoll and Edward Bishop in their introduction, "Archiving 'Archiving.'" O'Driscoll and Bishop go on to note that "what becomes clear here is, indeed, the centrality of the archive to contemporary scholarship and criticism" (10). Archives provide insight into the circumstances surrounding a cultural event or phenomenon; the flip side of the public exhibits that are traditionally studied, the private, behind-the-scenes look at culture and literature.

This focus on the private world would seem to fit well with current translation theory. How better to erase the translator's invisibility than to search for drafts, letters and research materials by the translators themselves in order to develop a more complete understanding of the translation and the translator? The anecdotal approach to translation studies becomes much more robust when it incorporates the extra-textual materials the translator has left for the researcher. One image that is shattered when using archives in translation studies is that of translators, alone at their desks diligently producing their translations. Archival materials provide information on the influence of editors, friends, researchers, fellow authors and translators, and even the authors themselves. The translator may still sit alone at a desk, but instead of working on the translation directly, the translator is reaching out to those who may be able to provide help, if only in the form of moral support.

Very little, however, has been done in terms of archival research in translation studies in Canada. This is surprising, due in part to the popularity of Scott and Hébert's *Dialogue*. These letters between author and translator have often been quoted and praised for their insight into both the poetic impulse and the craft of translation. Frye provided the introduction to the letters when they were first published in book form in 1970. Previously, the letters had appeared in both French and English periodicals. Despite both the praise for *Dialogue* and the assertions that it provided invaluable insight, no effort was made to seek out similar instances of archival evidence providing insight into translation until the recent interest in the relationship between Roy and her translators. This is perhaps because of the format in which *Dialogue* appeared: the legitimate form of print. The letters ceased to be archival material as soon as they appeared in print, passing from the private to the public realm. Other archives remain hidden in library basements and storage facilities, along with their potential uses.

One recent study into the possible applicability of archival materials to translation studies is Patricia Godbout's doctoral dissertation on literary translation and "sociabilité interculturelle" in English and French Canada during the 1950s. What she analyses are the "réseaux interculturels de sociabilité littéraire dans leur évolution" of four poet/translators/intellectuals: Guy Sylvestre, Frank Scott, Pierre Daviault, and John Glassco. Godbout's work represents one of the first attempts to combine theories of literary sociability and translation studies. Theories of literary sociability rely heavily on archival research, letters, interviews, diaries, journals, manuscripts, and drafts. Godbout's conclusions, based on extensive archival materials, directly contradict earlier conclusions made by Richard Giguère in his own comparative study of English and French modernist poets in Montreal: Godbout finds that there were mutual influences, for better or for worse, particularly in the realm of translation, while Giguère finds virtually none.

This type of archival research, as applied to translations studies, needs to be expanded. Not only does it provide a greater understanding, as Godbout points out, of the formation of nation and national identity, but it brings the translator into a central and visible position. With the rise of globalization, archival research on translations and translators will illuminate the process of cultural exportation. Going back to Holmes' definition of the translator of poetry as a metapoet, the archive provides invaluable insight into what he calls the "activity of confrontation and resolution" or

> the activity of organizing and resolving a confrontation between the norms and conventions of one linguistic system, literary tradition, and poetic sensibility, as embodied in the original poem as he has analysed it, and the norms and conventions of another linguistic system, literary tradition, and poetic sensibility to be drawn on hor the metapoem he hopes to create. (11)

In the case of Hébert, and her translators and anthologizers, the archives are invaluable in understanding her evolution as an author in English. Diaz-Diocartz looks at the translator (translator-function, as she calls it) as both an omniscient reader and an active writer. She points to the lack of analysis of the translator as reader (16), and one of the ways we may be able to close that gap is through archival resources; one of the focuses of many of the letters by the translators of Hébert's poetry focus on their initial readings of her poetry. As an active writer, the translator must make choices

> which are motivated by the will to solve translation problems, [while] the translator's own cultural and ideological presuppositions are a major factor, besides specific interests and objectives, and in addition to the restrictions imposed by language use and aesthetic norms in a given system. (27)

This recalls Holmes, and illustrates ways in which the archives can be useful in understanding the translator's decisions, influences, etc. Many of Hébert's translators are open about their political, aesthetic and cultural biases in their letters discussing their translations, providing an opportunity for us to further analyze the complex process of translating. And even if they ignore those aspects that Diaz-Diocartz addresses as being important for the translator to consider, the archives reveal the what and the why of that decision or that ignorance.

Using *Dialogue* as a Model of Literary Translation

E.D. Blodgett is one of the few theorists to use *Dialogue* for any larger theoretical inquiries into the process of translation.[5] In the article, "Towards a Model of Literary Translation in Canada," he looks more broadly at a number of translational situations in the country, but begins his process with the *Dialogue*. Applying Kristeva's theories of geno-text and pheno-text expanded to translation, Blodgett shows how Canadian translators put varying degrees of emphasis on the source text (pheno-text 1), the author (geno-text 1), the translator (geno-text 2) and the target text (pheno-text 2), but argues that power to place the emphasis on any one of these four areas remains with the translator. Nonetheless, taking what Blodgett has said a step further, the author, to varying degrees, will maintain a privileged position: while the translator eventually creates the poem (the independent pheno-text), he/she will only ever be able to create a secondary geno-text. The level of authority given to that geno-text will vary, as will the level of authority given to the first geno-text. But simply stating that there exists a second geno-text will always imply that there was once a first, housed in the author.

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[5] This is not necessarily surprising, given that Blodgett himself participated in his own dialogue with Jacques Brault in *Transfigurations*, a book of translated poetry, so to speak, that Sherry Simon calls "a sequel to *Dialogue sur la traduction*" (*Translating Montreal* 140). Again, there has been very little critical attention paid to this "sequel."

This is important because it finally takes into consideration the role the author may play in the process of translation. Blodgett's "hypothèse de travail" (203) ensures that the author remains present in some form, if only as an acknowledgement. Blodgett also offers evidence that the power remains with the translator: ultimately it is Scott, Godard, and Brault who choose to "abandon" the translation and who decide which of the four "texts" to privilege, and ultimately looking at the geno-text in some way, "one might infer that Brault avoids the movement towards geno-text 1, which both Scott and Godard make, except to find possibilities for transposition" (203). Blodgett manages to maintain the empowerment of the translator while privileging the author at the same time.

Marcel Voisin also looks to *Dialogue* to expand our theoretical understanding of the process of translation. In his article "Le dialogue auteur-traducteur au service de la poésie et de la culture," he outlines how a translator must carry on a "dialogue fictif mais intime" with the author of the poem, with the goal of achieving "[u]ne communion spirituelle [qui] devrait transcender…et permettre le petit miracle d'une réécriture capable de susciter des émotions et un plaisir analogues à ceux que procure l'original" (205). Voisin goes on to state that "[u]n dialogue authentique est un bénéfice pour chacun" and uses *Dialogue* as the ideal example of such a collaboration. These collaborations would lead to a new ethic of translation. This ethic would allow the translator to transcend "la prégnance du moi et de l'ethnocentrisme culturel qui ne cessent de rétrécir notre vision du monde" (212). The power still remains with the translator, because it is only through a change in the way the translator views the authority of the author that such an ethical shift may occur.

A Theory of Power and Authority

I have chosen my language quite deliberately in the foregoing discussion in preparation for the explanation of my approach to studying the translations of Hébert's poetry. Out of the 15 or so translators who have translated her poems, only two known correspondences took place between author and translator (F.R. Scott and Alan Brown). One can easily conclude that these two translators placed a fair amount of authority in the author, privileging the author, as Blodgett would say. But this does not negate the other forces that may have acted on those translators; nor does not corresponding imply that the author/source text held no authority. I would argue that translators are in a position of power, with a number of authorities or forces acting upon them. These authorities can range from cultural norms and expectations of the target language to the knowledge the translator possesses of the source culture. The level at which these authorities are privileged by the translator is controlled centrally; ultimately the translator has the power to decide how he/she is going to proceed with the translation.

This shift in theoretical focus and terminology takes Blodgett's theory a step further in terms of applicability and complexity, but uses his introduction of the author as authority as its starting point. It borrows, obviously, from polysystem theories that attempt to look at all forces that work on the translator, but combines them with post-colonial theories that show that the translator does have a great deal of power over the final product, as outlined by Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler in the introduction to *Translation and Power*: "the '*cultural* turn' in translation studies has become the '*power* turn,' with questions of power brought to the fore in discussions of both translation history and strategies for translation" (xvi). What we have is a workable theory that can be applied to a number of translational situations. It will be particularly useful when looking at a number of different translations side-by-side and trying to understand the differences between them.

The idea of power and authority is also useful when considering the role of editors, publishers and others in the creation and, perhaps more importantly, the dissemination of a translation. As you will see in the chapters concerning Anne Hébert in English-language anthologies, often the power of the translator is precarious, if even present at all. Translators (if they are not the editor as well) are at the mercy of the editors in their preferences, while the editors are trying to sell their books to publishers who are evaluating market considerations. Nonetheless, many translators take steps, sometimes radical steps, to ensure that they maintain power over their translation.

Chapter One of my study will look at F.R. Scott and his power in terms of the influence he exerted in the translation and image of Anne Hébert into English. No more than a few degrees of separation exist between Scott and the others who translated or anthologized Hébert in English. His attitude, both towards Hébert and towards translation and poetry in general, shaped not only his output, but also influenced Hébert's own view of her translations and translators. This chapter will also examine the effect *Dialogue sur la traduction* had on subsequent translators and translations. Chapter Two deals with the four collections of Hébert's poetry in English: *The Tomb of Kings*, translated by Peter Miller (1967); *Poems*, translated by Alan Brown (1975); *Anne Hébert: Selected Poems* (1987) and *Day has no Equal but Night* (1994), translated by Alfred Poulin Jr.; and *The Day has No Equal but the Night*, translated by Lola Lemire Tostevin (1997). This chapter not only looks at the circumstances surrounding the translating and publishing of the collections, but also compares the collections and poems found in them. The following two chapters deal with Anne Hébert's anthologization in English. Chapter Three will deal with Hébert as a French-Canadian/Québécoise and Canadian, while Chapter Four will deal with Hébert outside the Canadian context. While those anthologies published outside of Canada may have had a larger influence on Hébert's image as an author internationally, the nationalist anthologies are important in exposing Hébert to readers (and other editors and translators) who might not have known her otherwise. Finally, Chapter Five compares the different translations of Hébert's most famous poem, "The Tomb of Kings," looking at the variety of approaches translators have taken in regards to that poem, including incorporating the author's own input.

The aim of this study is not to pass judgement on the quality of the translations *per se*. As many of the translators are metapoets, or poet-critics, I will attempt to judge the poems on the basis of the translators' stated philosophy or approach to translation whenever and wherever possible, as well as how they incorporate Hébert's own input, as the situation allows. Do they follow their own stated aims when translating her poetry? The criteria is both biased and impartial: biased on the side of the translator, but impartial in that I have to pass no actual judgement of my own. But the question of quality will inevitably rear its head during the course of this analysis, and the question is always asked: which translation is *the best*? My own preference would be what Holmes calls a "mimetic form" or approach to translating poetry, so that the translator "[imitates] the form of the original as best he can" (26). This is not to say that there are no successful translations that abandon the mimetic form, in fact, some will be studied here. But I am an optimist, and "regarding the possibilities of cross-cultural transference, the mimetic approach is fundamentally optimistic" (28).

Lawrence Venuti writes: "A history of translation, then, like any history, endows translation practices with significance through a specific narrative form or mixtures of forms" ("Translation" 812). I would argue that the history of the translations of a particular author can also be read like a narrative, a story so to speak. The aim of this dissertation, then, is to tell the story of Anne Hébert's poetry in English, the story of an author who moves from the local and provincial to the global and universal, and of those in the middle who rewrote her into English.

Chapter One: The F.R. Scott Effect

According to André Lefevere: "In the past, as in the present, rewriters created images of a writer, a work, a period, a genre, sometimes even a whole literature" (5). There is perhaps no better way to describe the influence of F.R. Scott, not only on the image of Hébert in English, but perhaps English Canada's understanding of French-Canadian literature more broadly. This chapter will trace just how influential Scott was in creating and shaping the image of Hébert in English, her poem "The Tomb of Kings," the modernist movement in Quebec, and French-Canadian literature in general. He started everything.

During the 1940s Scott had established himself as an important voice for Canadian politics and poetry.[6] In the 1950s, as outlined by Patricia Godbout, Scott became an important voice as a translator, or perhaps more accurately, as a cultural interpreter. One cannot underestimate the importance of Scott's choosing Hébert as one of his first subjects to translate to her subsequent popularity in English. An arbiter of all things poetic at the time, Scott had the cultural capital in order to immediately place Hébert in the minds of English Canada as a talented poet of great significance. The June-July 1952 issue of *Northern Review* contains the "first" translations of Anne Hébert, taken from *Le Tombeau des rois*: "La fille maigre" and "En guise de fête." The first letter between Scott and Hébert appears (at least, according to Scott's archive) at the very end of 1952, on December 31 (Scott Fonds). The two would begin a literary friendship that lasted over the next twenty years and would have a tremendous impact on how the rest of Canada read Anne Hébert's poetry in English.

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[6] See *The Making of Modern Poetry in Canada*, Louis Dudek, 1967; *The McGill Movement*, Peter Stevens, 1969; *On F.R. Scott*, Sandra Djwa and R. St. J. Macdonald, 1983; *The Politics of Imagination*, Djwa, 1987; *The Montreal Forties*, Brian Trehearne, 1999.

Over the next thirty years, Scott's translations and the subsequent *Dialogue sur la traduction* influenced, directly or indirectly, virtually every translation of Hébert's poetry. His translations, however, not only "haunt" the reader looking at Hébert in English, but also Scott's influence behind the scenes, so to speak, shaped many of the collections and anthologies that included Hébert over the coming years. Indeed, six degrees of separation are not necessary when trying to connect Scott to the translators and editors who worked on Hébert; one step is often all that is needed. What we begin to see in a close analysis of these relationships is the extent of Scott's influence on these editors and translators in shaping their own translations and choices regarding Hébert's poetry. But Scott's influence is not limited to his fellow English-language colleagues; in reading the relationship between Hébert and Scott, the extent of Scott's impact on the French language poet becomes clear, especially in regards to Hébert's relationship to future translators. More generally, Scott's work as both a lawyer and critic to ensure proper recognition for translators in Canada made it possible for many of these anthologies and translations to even see the light of day.

F.R. Scott, Translator

Scott's first translations of Hébert's poetry appeared in 1952.[7] It was not until ten years later that Scott's "complete" translations of Hébert's poetry appeared in book form. *St-Denys Garneau and Anne Hébert* was published by Klanak Press, a small press in Vancouver, in 1962. Bilingual in format, the collection included nine poems by Hébert:

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[7] For a complete analysis of these two translations and Scott and Hébert's early relationship, see Godbout 2004, 75-84, as well as Djwa 1987, 371-383.

four from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953), two from *Poèmes* (1960), and one from her first collection, *Songes en équilibre* (1942). It is a testament to the relationship that Scott and Hébert shared that Scott was able to publish a translation from *Songes en équilibre* as Hébert disliked her first collection of poetry.[8] Scott provided a "Translator's Note" at the beginning of the text, and Giles Marcotte provided an introduction. The Hébert poems included were, in order of appearance: "The Lean Girl," "As if for Holiday," "Manor Life," "The Closed Room," "There is Certainly Someone," "The Two Hands," "The Tomb of Kings," "Blind Season," and "Snow."

The project began in haste in 1961, with a letter to Scott from his friend W.C. McConnell, editor at Klanak Press. Arguing that Western Canada should be exposed to this new generation of poets, McConnell was looking for an editor to produce a collection of French Canadian poets in translation and contacted Scott in the hopes that he would either take up the challenge or recommend someone else for the task. Eventually the collection would evolve to contain translations of only Saint-Denys Garneau and Hébert, in a bilingual format, with no expense spared on the layout and typography (Djwa 376). In a letter dated November 1, 1961, McConnell writes to Scott regarding the progress of the publication:

> I completely forgot to mention the most important point of all - the poetry is magnificent! And the translations, well, I can see the tremendous amount of dedication which went into them. To translate as well yet so faithfully is in effect creating new poems! I have no doubt about the volume's success. To hell with the bank – a first run of a thousand copies it must be. (Scott Fonds)

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[8] Gael Turnbull had previously attempted to get permission to publish translations of poems by Hébert, and in a letter dated April 3, 1955, Hébert wrote to Turnbull: "Ce recueil [*Songes en équilibre*] date de trop longtemps, et, je ne tiens pas du tout à le ramener au jour. Je préfère l'oublier" (Godbout 98).

One thousand copies was a significant number for a collection of poetry published by a small press at that time. But the friendship between the translator and the publisher, as well as McConnell's faith in the quality of the translations would seem to have outweighed the high costs of such an endeavor.

The translations themselves are fairly good, with few errors. In "The Lean Girl," the lines "Un jour je saisirai mon amant/Pour m'en faire un reliquaire d'argent" (*Oeuvre* 29) become "One day I shall clasp my lover/And make of him a silver shrine" (33). The word "clasp" does not completely convey the meaning of the verb "saisir," in particular the implication of violence contained in the original French. As well, while "silver shrine" is more poetic in English, it is not as accurate as the more specific "reliquary." In "Manor Life," Scott translates "Jette ton image aux fontaines dures/Ta plus dure image sans ombre ni couleur" (*Oeuvre* 47) as "Cast your image into these brittle fountains/Your brittler image without shadow or colour" (37). Translating "dure" as "brittle" would seem to change the image Hébert created in the original poem. And finally, in "There is Certainly Someone," (*Oeuvre* 44) the line "Le coeur dans son coffret ancien" is translated as "My heart sealed up as before" (41), which again would seem to change the meaning of the original poem. Overall, many of the changes made by Scott were for poetic purposes, such as in "The Lean Girl" where the final verse "Et bougent/Comme une eau verte/Des songes bizarres et enfantins" (*Oeuvre* 30) is changed to "As strange and childish dreams/Swirl/Like green water" (33). The image itself remains the same, but with a change in word order, with very poetic results.

The reception of the collection is very positive. G.V. Downes, another future translator of Hébert, reviews the book for *B.C. Library Quarterly* and calls it "a welcome and brilliantly successful attempt to bridge this gap [between English and French Canada/Western and Eastern Canada]" (Scott Fonds). In discussing Scott's translations of Hébert, Downes observes: "What is so satisfactory, and so unusual, is the way the English text – particularly in the case of Anne Hébert's work - does carry the real 'courant magnétique' of poetry" and concludes with: "One is grateful to the Klanak Press for bringing such fine translations of such fine originals" (Scott Fonds). In *The Canadian Forum*, Laure Rièse compares the Christian imagery in both Garneau and Hébert's poetry, and notes: "Mr. Scott, in his translations, brings out the intricacies both of language and thought. But remaining true to his models he loses nothing and embellishes nothing" (Scott Fonds). Rièse sums up: "St-Denys Garneau (sic) and Anne Hébert have distinguished themselves by the maturity of their experiences, the harmonizing power of their mind and art, and one can be grateful to Mr. Scott for having brought them to the attention of the Anglo-Saxon world" (Scott Fonds). In *Queen's Quarterly*, Gérard Tougas states: "There can be no doubt that Anne Hébert has been magnificently served by Frank Scott" (450). Robin Skelton, in *The Tamarak Review*, observes that in Scott's translations "[m]uch of the music is lost, but the basic perceptions remain," (81) and concludes: "This is wonderful poetry. It can stand up in any company and be proud of itself" (82). In *Canadian Literature*, Leandre Bergeron calls Scott's translation "absolument littérale" but praises this quality because "elle nous donne vraiment l'impression qu'un canadien-français est en train de nous parler dans sa langue seconde" (75). CBC Radio ran a review of the book for their series "Critically Speaking," where George Whalley finds himself "spellbound at once by the force and integrity" of "The

Tomb of Kings" and observes, "I should like to read them all" (Scott Fonds).[9] It should also be noted that almost all the reviews point to the letters recently (1962) published in *The Tamarack Review* between Scott and Hébert as a point of interest relating to the translation of the poem "The Tomb of Kings." These letters would eventually become *Dialogue sur la traduction*, which will be dealt with later on in this chapter.

The impact of this collection on Canadian letters should not be overlooked. Two of French Canada's most celebrated poets, translated by one of English Canada's most influential poets, is a significant event. The 1960s in Canada and Quebec witnessed a huge shift in both politics and attitudes, and this small collection played a part by participating in these shifts. The first run of the collection did sell out, and on February 5, 1978, McConnell writes Scott to discuss publishing a second edition:

> The reason for the proposed second edition of The Translations [*St-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert*] is that it is out of print and it continues to be on University and other courses in various parts of Canada. Consequently we are breaking our rule of one limited edition of each book we publish. It would be a pity if this magnificent poetry were kept from a generation of students.
>
> The proposed number of copies is 1,000, my estimate of a 5-7 year supply. (Scott Fonds)

The subsequent work that people like Glassco, Downes, Cogswell and others did in translating and publishing French Canadian poetry was in no small part influenced by this initial collection of translations by Scott.

In 1977 Blackfish Press, also out of British Columbia, published *Poems of French Canada*, which collected all of Scott's translations into one volume for the first time. Scott's nine translations of Hébert's poetry reappear here, although a few have been modified. Scott provides a lengthy introduction to the collection, which is part tutorial on the history of French Canada, part autobiography. The rise in Quebec nationalism and other recent developments in Canadian politics weigh heavily on Scott, and this is reflected in his introduction as well as the choice of title: while elsewhere new anthologies of poetry were calling themselves Québécois rather than French-Canadian, Scott remains firmly with the older nomenclature. Or as put by Kathy Mezei: "This defiance underlines his introduction; it is perhaps 'an old man's frenzy,' perhaps an anachronistic gesture, perhaps the pain of a man who sees his dreams of the creative co-existence of two cultures dissolve into petty semantics" ("*Poems*" 106). As Scott states at the end of his introduction: "Translation is not only an art in itself, it is also an essential ingredient in Canada's political entity" (vi). This particular section of the introduction gave Scott some difficulty, as an early draft reveals. The draft is slightly different, focusing not on the political, but on the cultural: "That translation is itself an art and for Canada a cultural necessity is, I think, an established fact" (Scott Fonds). The final version would seem to illustrate Scott's continuing concern with the political situation.

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[9] Scott's archives also contain a review from *The Montreal Star*. Unfortunately, due to the fact that the archives are now only available through microfiche, the article is almost illegible.

Alan Safarik, editor of Blackfish Press, spared no expense in producing and promoting what he felt was an important book for Canadian letters:

> We are planning three editions…twenty-six numbered and signed copies (boxed) in super bind, 100 signed editions on different paper in a different bind and then a fine trade edition of 1000 copies….
>
> While we are printing the book we will also print a brochure to be sent on a prayer out on our 3000 individual mailing list…We will mail the posters out to about 100 bookstores across the country. We will also run an ad in Books in Canada and I anticipate sending out 50 copies for review… (Blackfish Press Fonds)

At this point in Scott's career, however, the mere mention of a "new" collection of works by him inspired book orders: "Word travels fast. I have already back ordered 30 copies of the book from strange places across the country…The whole book will go in less than a year. Much less" (Backfish Press Fonds). This was not exactly an accurate prediction, but not far off. On April 12, 1978, Safarik writes Scott that there are only about 400 copies left of the book, and the book was also in consideration for the Canada Council Prize for Translation (Scott Fonds). Critical reaction to the anthology is limited, but very positive. Mezei writes in her review for *Canadian Literature* that "the translations are very good – Scott is a meticulous craftsman" (104) and notes how the "publication of F.R. Scott's translations is a timely recognition of Scott's importance as a translator" (103). Philip Stratford, for *Quill and Quire*, celebrates the fact that Scott's "beautifully translated French Poems" had finally been collected and observes that "the quality is high" (Scott Fonds). Perhaps the highest accolade for the book and the translator is the Canada Council Award for Translation that Scott would receive for his translations in 1978.

Scott reiterates in his introduction a sentiment he had already expressed in *Dialogue*: in translation, "there is no finality" (i). There are a number of changes that he made to his translations of Hébert's poetry for this edition. Some would seem to be simply corrections, such as in "Manor Life" where "brittle" becomes "hard." Yet two poems, "The Closed Room" and "The Tomb of Kings," were significantly altered for the new collection. Below are both versions of "The Closed Room."

St-Denys Garneau and Anne Hébert	*Poems of French Canada*
Who then brought me here?	Who then brought me here?
There was certainly someone	There was certainly someone
Who prompted my steps.	Who prompted my steps.
But when did that happen?	But when did that happen?
With the complicity of what quiet friend?	With the **connivance** of what quiet friend?
The deep approval of what long night?	The deep approval of what long night?
Who was it laid out the room?	Who was it laid out the room?
In what calm moment	In what calm moment
Was the low ceiling thought of	Was the low ceiling thought of
The small green table and the tiny knife	The small green table and the tiny knife
The bed of black wood	The bed of black wood
And all the bloom of the fire	And all the **glow** of the fire
With its red billowing skirts	With its **purple** billowing skirts
Around its core enclosed and held fast	Around its **heart,** held fast **and secure,**
Under the orange and blue flames?	Under the orange and blue flames?
...	...
When my heart was placed on the table	When my heart was placed on the table
Who then laid the cover so carefully	Who then laid the cover so carefully
Sharpened the little knife	Sharpened the little knife
Without any torment	Without any **anxiety**
Or hurry?	Or hurry?
My flesh is bewildered and wastes away	My flesh is bewildered and wastes away
Without this familiar guest	Without this familiar guest
Torn from between its ribs.	Torn from its ribs.
The bright colour of blood	The bright colour of blood
Seals the hollow vault	Seals the hollow vault
And my hands folded	And my hands folded
Over this devastated space	Over this **devastation**
Grow cold and fascinated with emptiness.	Grow cold and fascinated with emptiness.
O gentle body asleep	O gentle body asleep
The bed of black wood enfolds you	The bed of black wood enfolds you
And locks you tightly so long as you do not move.	And **holds** you tightly so long as you do not move.
Above all do not open your eyes!	Above all do not open your eyes!
Imagine	**Be very careful**
If you were to see	If you **are going** to see
The set table and the shining glass!	**The gleaming table and the dishes spread!**

Leave, leave the fire to stain The room with its glow And ripen both your heart and your flesh; Unhappy lovers now cut apart and lost.	Leave, leave the fire to **colour** The room with its **reflections,** And **replenish** your heart and your flesh; Unhappy **pair** now **separate** and lost

Many of these changes would appear to be corrections, such as the passage that describes the flame at the end of the second verse. But Scott's modifications to the penultimate verse would seem to stray from the original French. The lines "Songe un peu/Si tu allais voir/La table servie et le couvert qui brille!" become in the second incarnation "Be very careful/If you are going to see/The gleaming table and the dishes spread!" The first line radically departs from the original French, while the last line becomes more literal. It should be noted that a year later when the second edition of *St-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert* was published, Scott restored the line to "The set table and the shining glass!" (Scott Fonds). This was common for Scott to continue modifying his translations with each subsequent publication, as illustrated also in *Dialogue*, where he includes yet another "third version" of the same poem.

The two collections of Scott's translations and their timing are bookends of a sort for Scott's career as a translator, but also bookends for a time of great political upheaval in Quebec: in 1962, the beginning and optimism of the 1960s with the rise of Canadian nationalism, and 1977, with what could be seen as the end of the dream for Scott and his vision for Quebec's role in Canada with the rise of Quebec separatism. But the legacy he would leave with these collections and his work as a translator would be felt for many decades to come.

F.R. Scott, Lawyer

In a letter dated April 27, 1955, Scott writes to Hébert:

> You seem to be pursued by translators. This is the penalty for writing good poetry. As you know, I think translations should be encouraged for it helps the understanding of cultures, but I quite realise how necessary it is to keep control over it so that you reduce to a minimum the degree of distortion which inevitably takes place in the process.
>
> I have assumed that you permit me to make further translations of your work, provided I should show it to you before publication, but I have not felt that I had a right to tell other translators what they should do. On the other hand, if you wished me to have some exclusive right in translation so that you can more easily control what is published, I would be willing to accept this role as a favour to you. Personally, I do not think one's reputation can ever be damaged, even by bad translations, since the original work is what counts and remains unchanged. (Scott Fonds)

As a poet, Scott was always concerned about artists' control over their poetic voice, but he was also concerned with making sure that the artist was properly compensated, and not just the poet, but the translator as well. In the F.R. Scott Fonds, there is an entire section devoted to "Permission," which includes a copy of all cheque stubs and receipts Scott received as compensation for the poems, letters, and writings reproduced in anthologies and collections. His archives also contains copies of (seemingly) all requests to include his work in anthologies, and his responses that clearly outline how much he expected to be paid for each poem/translation. As early as 1957, with the appearance of A.J.M. Smith's third edition of *Book of Canadian Poetry* through Gage Publishing, Scott was enquiring on the status of certain translations that were included in the anthology. In a letter dated May 20, 1958, Scott writes to Miss Enid Thornton at Ryerson Press (who held the copyright at that time for his poetry), to enquire about the publication, among others, of "Ancestral Manor" in Smith's anthology: "Did they get permission from you?" (Scott Fonds). In her response, Thornton replies: "Since Gage did not ask for the use of "Ancestral Manor," I assume that this poem was in the first edition of their book. This means that no new permission would be required" (Scott Fonds). It is interesting to note that in both editions of Smith's anthology, Scott's translation of Hébert's poem "Ancestral Manor" is not credited as a translation, but as an original Scott poem. Gage would not have held copyright for that particular poem, as the translation had not yet been published in an anthology or collection. The grey area posed by the question of translation, as well as the issue of control, concerned Scott a great deal.

Scott and Hébert soon after would seem to have resolved the situation: Scott purchased the rights to his translations from Hébert, for the publication of *Saint-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert*, in 1962. In a letter to her, dated February 21, 1962, Scott offers $100 for the exclusive rights to his translations of her poems (Scott Fonds). This is advantageous in a number of ways. Editors no long had to contact both Scott and Hébert in order to reprint a poem. This also allowed him to "control," as he explained to Hébert, the translations that were published, without inconveniencing the author. But it meant that Scott began charging the same amount of money as he would if the poem had been an original. It also allowed for Scott to control how much he was compensated for his translations. Publishing houses at that time did not pay the translators what they deserved for permission to publish their translations, and Scott's ownership of his translations allowed another level of control, which often led to battles with the publishing houses.

One such battle took place between Scott and Penguin Publishing for the permission to publish four of his translations in *Canadian Writing Today*, edited by Mordecai Richler, which included "Manor Life" by Hébert. According to the archives, Scott was charging his standard $25 per poem, while Penguin, in a letter dated June 16, 1969, was offering a compromise of $15 per poem for "non-exclusive English language world anthology rights" (Scott Fonds). Scott replied to this in a letter dated June 26, 1969:

> I am afraid the 'compromise' you suggest is not acceptable by me. You are asking for world rights; even for Canadian rights I receive $25 at least per poem. It is also apparent that you only want me to be represented by translations. This is not the form of verse for which I am best known in Canada, and rather than have your anthology misrepresent me I think I would prefer to be omitted entirely. (Scott Fonds)

This letter was forwarded to Richler, who apparently contacted Scott personally, as there is no letter in either of their archives that discusses the compromise. There is a letter in Richler's archive from the editor at Penguin dated July 22, 1969 stating: "I am very relieved to hear you have mollified Frank Scott" (Richler Fonds) and in Scott's archive, there is a receipt for $60, $15 per poem for *Canadian Writing Today*. This sort of control was obviously important to Scott, and focused not only on compensation but also on artistic integrity. Although he had refused elsewhere to have his poems or translations published due to unfair compensation, again according to his archives, this never seemed to happen in regards to a translation of an Hébert poem. The situation with Penguin is the closest Hébert ever came to being excluded in English because of money.

F.R. Scott, Friend

As stated in the letter to Hébert quoted previously, Scott was also very loyal to her. He wrote a letter on behalf of Hébert on April 11, 1953, in order to assist her in acquiring a Royal Society of Canada Scholarship, which he repeated again in 1954:

> I cannot think of a poet in Quebec more fitted to receive your help. She already writes enough first-rate poetry to prove her originality and devotion in the practice of this art…My own opinion of her writing is perhaps best indicated by the fact that she is the first French-Canadian poet whose poems I have felt moved to translate. (Scott Fonds)

This literary friendship and the mutual respect shared by the two authors shaped many of the future translations and publications of Hébert's poetry in English. In the early 1960s Peter Miller was thinking of producing a bilingual edition of *The Tomb of Kings*. Hébert wrote to Scott on February 17, 1962, in regards to a possible translation by Miller: "Ryerson Press aimerait publier une cinquantaine de poèmes, traduit par Peter Miller. Ouf! Toute mon oeuvre poétique, quoi!...Connaissez-vous les poèmes de Peter Miller? Les aimez-vous?" (Scott Fonds). Scott responds in the February 21, 1962 letter: "As for the book of Ryerson's, translated by Peter Miller, I have heard nothing about this. It seems to me you may want to make sure that if you are going to be published in translation, there should not be too many people attempting to do it. On the other hand, Peter Miller writes quite good poetry and I think is a responsible person" (Scott Fonds). Miller eventually approaches Raymond Souster and Louis Dudek, with whom he ran Contact Press, about publishing the Hébert translations. Souster contacted Scott by mail to solicit his advice and opinion on the translations. Scott responded as follows in a letter dated June 2, 1965: "I have decided, in view of my relationship with [Hébert] and the fact that we worked together on my translations, not to intervene in any way with respect to Peter Miller's proposed volume. Let him approach her directly if he wants to" (Scott Fonds). Both Miller and Dudek contacted Hébert and obtained permission to publish the full collection of her poems, and the collection was published by Contact Press in 1967.[10] It can be inferred that Hébert took Scott's advice about Miller to heart in allowing her poems to be translated by him. As well, she would seem to have heeded Scott's advice about not allowing too many translators to have access to her poems. One can contrast the situation with Miller and a situation that had arisen ten years earlier with another possible translator of Hébert's poetry.

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[10] Chapter Two will include a close analysis of Miller's translations.

On April 8, 1955, fellow poet and editor Cid Corman, who was at the time living in Paris, wrote Scott the following:

> In my 16th issue of ORIGIN…I had planned to use 4-6 poems by Anne Hébert in translations by Gael Turnbull and a French friend of his. The versions are quite satisfactory. But I recently wrote to Miss Hébert asking permission and hoping also that she were in Paris so that I might have her direct suggestions towards possible improvements. She writes me that you are her authorized translator (at least, of LES TOMBEAUX DES ROIS); that being the case, I write you for permission to print the versions I now have. I am of the belief that the importance is the poetry and that so long as the versions are honest and true, they should be made available as soon as possible. (Scott Fonds)

Note here how Hébert has named Scott the "authorized translator" of her poetry, trusting him not only to translate but also seemingly to decide who translates her poems, as well as where those poems will appear. In a letter dated two days later, Turnbull himself wrote to Scott, again asking for permission to publish his translations of Hébert, reassuring Scott that "it is unlikely that more than half a dozen people in Canada read [*Origin*]" and thus "would not conflict with any plans you have for publication of your versions, in this country" (Scott Fonds). Turnbull also stated in the same letter that he and Jean Beaupré were currently working on translating a number of French-Canadian poets, in the hopes of publishing a series, and that they wished to include Hébert. Scott responded to Turnbull in a letter dated April 13, 1955, expressing a great deal of interest in the project, and says of the Hébert translations: "I naturally would like you to go ahead and publish where ever and whenever you can. Of course you must clear with Anne Hébert, since she owns the copyright" (Souster Fonds). Turnbull replies to Scott that he will re-inquire with Hébert about permission, hoping to be able to publish the translations. On April 27, 1955, Scott sends a letter to Corman, and copies both Hébert and Turnbull:

> I have been in touch with Gael Turnbull about the translations. I have no objections, of course, to anyone publishing anything they want to, only I feel you must have the actual versions approved by Anne Hébert. I think Turnbull is submitting his to her. I don't quite know what she means by "authorised translator"; I have assumed merely that I have the right to make my own translations with her approval and to hold copyright in them. Perhaps she wishes some person more familiar with English than herself to check the translations also. In this case we should be in some difficulty as regards to time. I can quite understand, however, that a poet would wish to control rather carefully what is published in another language over his name. I am sure we can work this out eventually. (Souster Fonds)

Attached to this letter was the one quoted above concerning to Scott's possible "exclusive right in translation." Scott's loyalty was rewarded, as Turnbull was never granted permission by Hébert to publish his translations of her poetry. It is unclear here why Turnbull was denied permission, although Scott does not seem to actively endorse Turnbull to Hébert as compared to his later assessment of Miller. Almost simultaneously, G.R. Roy was writing to Scott to enquire about an anthology he was trying to assemble, which would become *Twelve Modern French-Canadian Poets* published by Ryerson Press in 1958. Roy's anthology would include translations of Hébert's poetry, and he obviously was able to obtain permission. Although there is nothing in the archives, perhaps it is because Roy's father was a well-respected professor at the Université de Montréal, and thus a larger part of the Montreal circle, that Scott did not work to discourage this particular translation.

It is also interesting to note Scott's insistence in this particular situation with Turnbull that Turnbull solicit Hébert's advice on the translations. Hébert's own knowledge of English was limited at that time (see Godbout), but so too was Turnbull's knowledge of French, as he states in a letter to Scott dated April 15, 1955: "I don't have any more than a very rudimentary school-boy French, and have to depend on Beaupré here, for the idioms" (Scott Fonds). Did Scott not trust Turnbull with the translations after an admission that his French was not very good? Did Hébert see the drafts and not approve of the translations? The archives leave little in terms of information about the reasons for Hébert's eventual refusal of Turnbull's request, but from the tone and content of the letters between Hébert and Scott, as well as those between Scott and Turnbull, one can certainly hypothesize that it would have something to do with the loyalty and friendship these two artists felt towards one another.

There seems to be one other early incident where a translation other than Scott's might be used and when Scott took an active interest. McClelland & Stewart in 1961 wrote to Scott about a planned collection of Hébert short stories and poems in translation, asking him to possibly write the introduction. At this point, Scott was about to release his own collection of translated poems by Hébert and thus could not accept the invitation. He does conclude his response, dated October 16, 1961, by stating: "I would be interested to learn who is going to do the translations, and whether Miss Hébert had given her approval. Perhaps you would write me again when you hear from her" (Scott Fonds). The publishing house obviously did contact Hébert, as she writes to Scott in the February 17, 1962 letter:

> McClelland and Stuwart (sic) voudraient publier, dans un même recueil, quelques nouvelles et quelques poèmes…Personnellement

> je ne trouve pas que ce soit une bonne idée de publier des nouvelles et des poèmes dans un même volume. Il me semble que le lecteur ordinaire qui pourrait s'intéresser aux nouvelles sera rebuté par la presence des poèmes. L'idéal ce serait de publier séparément les nouvelles et les poèmes! (Scott Fonds)

Scott responds in the February 21, 1962 letter: "They have asked me to edit it. I am not sure I want to do this. I rather agree with you that a mixture of prose and poetry may not be too good...You must realize that you are now looked upon as a kind of goldmine which English publishers can exploit…It is all very flattering but a little disconcerting" (Scott Fonds). Hébert apparently never granted permission as the project did not materialize, and the first translations of her short stories, *The Torrent: Novellas and Short Stories*, translated by Gwendolyn Moore, appear in 1973 through Harvest House Press. Miller's (and Alan Brown's) translations of her poetry were released separately from the short stories, just as Hébert had wanted. One cannot discount the influence that Scott had on Hébert's decisions regarding her translations into English.

Hébert's friendship with Scott would not be the only relationship that she would forge with one of her translators. Both Alan Brown and Alfred Poulin, Jr. would communicate extensively with Hébert about their respective translations of her poems.[11] Hébert would seem to have developed a literary friendship of sorts with both men, apparently meeting with Brown to discuss his translations and the relationship between author and translator more generally (Brown Fonds), and having a number of collections of Poulin's own poetry in her personal library (Centre Anne-Hébert). As a result, the collections of these translators became privileged to a certain extent, with editors and publishers having to appeal directly to the author herself for permission to use translations other than Brown's or Poulin's. A case in point concerns Willis Barnstone and his attempts *not* to use the Brown translations in the anthology *A Book of Women Poets from Antiquity to Now* (Barnstone Mss.). Janis Pallister as well sought to assemble a collection of Hébert's poetry in translation, but could not manage to obtain the poet's permission.[12] Part of the problem was perhaps Pallister's desire to include the poems in *Songe en équilibre*, a collection that Hébert herself refused to ever see republished. It may also have been the poor quality of the translations that convinced Hébert not to allow Pallister to attempt to translate her entire poetic *oeuvre*. But one senses that Hébert was continuing to heed Scott's advice of not allowing too many translators access to her work, and given that both Brown and Poulin had provided (to that point) almost complete collections of translations that met her approval, the idea of a new collection may have seemed superfluous to the author.

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[11] Both translators, and their subsequent contact with the author, will be dealt with in detail in Chapter Two.

F.R. Scott, Collaborator

Of course, one cannot discuss Scott and his impact on the translations of Hébert's poetry without mentioning *Dialogue sur la traduction*. The experience not only had an impact on future translations of Hébert's poetry but also on future translations of contemporary French-Canadian poetry in general. As can be seen in his letters both to Hébert and other translators interested in working with her, he actively encouraged collaboration between author and translator in creating translations. When Miller, Brown and Poulin contact Hébert looking for advice regarding their translations, her subsequent feedback can be seen as a direct consequence of Scott's influence.

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[12] See Chapter Four for further analysis of this situation and Pallister's translations of Hébert's poetry.

The correspondence between Scott and Hébert discussing Scott's translation of "The Tomb of Kings" first appeared in 1960 in *Écrits du Canada français* and was reprinted in *The Tamarack Review* in 1962. Included with these letters in both magazines is an introduction by Jeanne Lapointe. In 1970 Éditions HMH published *Dialogue sur la traduction: À propos du "Tombeau des rois,"* which consisted of the letters, Lapointe's introduction, along with a new preface by Northrop Frye, and a third translation of the poem by Scott. The year 1985 saw a second edition of the book in honor of HMH's 25th anniversary. In 2000, Bibliothèque québécoise reprinted *Dialogue* once again. The impact of these letters as to how critics read Scott's translations of Hébert's poetry was significant, as illustrated in many of the reviews of *St-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert*. In particular, critics began to draw attention to "The Tomb of Kings" which subsequently has become her most anthologized poem in English. Robin Skelton, in his review of Scott's translations, closely associates the letters between Scott and Hébert with what he calls Hébert's "finest poem" (81). It is no accident that that same association was made in the minds of many English Canadian critics.

Critical commentary on the letters began to appear as early 1962, the same year when the letters appeared in *The Tamarack Review* and closely coincided with the release of *St-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert*. Laure Rièse praises Hébert's "lucid analysis" which "made Mr. Scott aware of all the linguistic and philosophical intricacies of her artistic output" (Scott Fonds). George Whalley outlines how the dialogue "shows how scrupulously difficult this literalness of Scott's can be" (Scott Fonds). When *Dialogue* is released in 1970, it is to positive reviews, almost exclusively in French, with both *Le Devoir* and *La Presse* running glowing reviews (Scott Fonds). Jean Delisle provides a review of the book for the translation journal *Meta* in 1975. Again the review is positive with Delisle stating: "Un dialogue comme celui d'Anne Hébert et de Frank Scott nous fait pénétrer au coeur de la création poétique et nous fair saisir en même temps à quel raffinement de langage doit viser le traducteur qui veut entreprendre la traduction d'une oeuvre poétique" (229). A year later in *Meta*, Pierre Marchand offers a rebuttal to Deslisle's positive review, concerning himself primarily with the shortcomings of translation the dialogue provides to the reader:

> Après avoir vu toutes les difficultés qu'ont soulevées les différents aspects phoniques de l'oeuvre à traduire, il semble bien qu'il soit impossible de parler de traduction, au sens où l'on entend généralement ce mot. La différence des caractéristiques phoniques des langues ne peut qu'engendrer des poésies radicalement différentes et indomptables. (160)

These types of debates that *Dialogue* inspired are no doubt what leads Kathy Mezei to point to the book as being an important part of "the beginning of an aesthetic of translation in Canada" ("*Poems*" 103). E.D. Blodgett uses *Dialogue* to develop "a model for the practice of literary translation in Canada" (189), while Marcel Voisin looks to *Dialogue* to provide a new ethical standard for translations wherever possible (211). Not only has the collection stimulated translators, but it has stimulated translation theorists as well.

What the *Dialogue* and the close contact between Scott and Hébert also represented was a certain privileged status for Scott personally. Almost every early translator interested in translating Hébert first contacted Scott. This included G. Ross Roy, Gael Turnbull, Gwladys Downes, Peter Miller and John Glassco. But others read *Dialogue* and acknowledged its influence on their translations: Alfred Poulin, Kathleen Weaver and Alan Brown. Scott's translations would become the standard to which all other translations would be held up against. D.G. Jones states: "while…Alan Brown [has] translated larger collections of[…]Anne Hébert, they cannot be said to have replaced the translations of Scott…Yet speaking more personally, I may say though Alan Brown may be a fine translator I cannot read his version of 'Vie de Château' without hearing that of Scott echoing through, especially at the end" ("F.R. Scott as Translator" 162). Critics may like or dislike Scott's translations (particularly in Canada), it is almost always his versions of Hébert's poems in English they return to as a point of departure.[13]

But the broader concept that Scott popularized was the idea of collaboration within the process of translation. He writes in his introduction to *St-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert*: "As I have been assisted in these translations at various times and in various ways, especially by Micheline Ste. Marie, Jeanne Lapointe and by Anne Hébert herself…I am only part author of the English versions" (9). Perhaps the person most influenced by this idea was John Glassco, reflected in his work on *The Poetry of French Canada*. In a letter to Downes dated March 6, 1969, Glassco offers feedback to Downes on some of her translations and notes: "I hope you don't find these suggestions intrusive. Frank Scott, Arthur Smith, George Johnston and many others, as well as myself, all mutually submit our translations to each other, and always benefit of the final version. Of course, this is mainly because we are constantly meeting" (Glassco Fonds). But it is not just collaboration between and among translators which Glassco values; in browsing through Glassco's archives, one finds that Glassco contacted and solicited the advice of every single living poet he wanted to include in the anthology, often sending them the translations he had acquired, or asking if there were any translations the authors themselves were fond of. This list included Jacques Brault, André Brochu, Paul Chamberland, Robert Choquette, Cécile Cloutier, Eloi de Grandmont, Alfred Desrochers, and many others. Some declined to offer feedback on the translations, but a good many of them did, and Glassco worked hard to accommodate their requests. One such occurrence took place with Glassco acting as a go-between for Downes and Fernand Ouellette: "Could you oblige him? I like the poem ["Psalms for Shelter"], but in these cases I think we might stretch a point for one, and hope that you can come up with something that will please him" (Glassco Fonds). This is just one example of how Glassco tried to create a collaborative environment under which to create his anthology of French-Canadian poetry; there are many others, but this gives an idea of the influence Scott had on subsequent editors and translators more generally.

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[13] See the subsequent two chapters as to the extent of this comparison when dealing with later translations of Hébert.

The archives of many of Canada's most important translators reveal that Scott was not alone in collaborating with the author in order to create translations. While translating their poetry, Peter Miller was soliciting feedback from Alain Grandbois, Octavio Paz, and Gaston Miron (Contact Press Records).[14] Alan Brown's archives reveal that he was not only in contact with Hébert, but also with Gabrielle Roy, Hubert Aquin, Jacques Godbout, Naïm Kattan and André Langevin. These types of collaborations within the realm of translation were further explored by E.D. Blodgett and Jacques Brault in their production of *Transfiguration* (1998), and in the work of the feminist translations and collaborations of the *Tessera* group, which included Barbara Godard, Nicole Brossard, Daphne Marlatt, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood and others. These are just some examples that would seem to indicate the legacy of *Dialogue*.

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[14] Contact Press published two of the three collections of translated poetry; the translations of Miron's poetry remain unpublished (Contact Press Records).

F.R. Scott, Instigator

And now we have come full circle to Scott's influence on the dissemination of Hébert's work in English translation. Let us take the opportunity to briefly examine the connections between Scott and those who will later translate or anthologize Hébert's poetry in English. Starting with the translators, G.R. Roy contacted Scott directly in regards to his input towards his anthology. In a letter dated July 3, 1955, Roy writes the following to Scott:

> I am taking the liberty of writing to you because I know that you have expressed interest in our project – a bilingual anthology of modern Canadian poetry in its original and in translation.
> In order to make as representative a selection as possible of the work of those poets which we include I feel that I should read all the poetry magazines published over the last 10 years. There is little of this material available here in our Montreal libraries, but I am informed that you have a great deal of it. I have applied for and was given a Modern Language Association grant to pay for having these magazines microformed; I must find them before this can be done. Would you allow me to look over your collection and have the necessary items microformed? (Scott Fonds)

Although there is no reply from Scott in his archives, Roy did include a phone number where he could be contacted, and one imagines they did make contact. In fact, Scott planted the seed in John Glassco's head to produce an anthology of French-Canadian poetry. In a letter dated November 12, 1957, Glassco writes: "I would like very much to talk with you about your wonderful idea of a bilingual anthology of Quebec poets: although to date I know only Garneau, Pilon & Fornier. I want to know more" (Scott Fonds). It was through Scott that Glassco would become acquainted with many French-Canadian poets and poetry, and in 1958, Glassco would be introduced to both Hébert and her poetry at a cocktail party at Scott's (Godbout 202). G.V. Downes wrote to Scott in 1962 to inquire about translating French-Canadian poetry, so as to not overlap with other translators. In her letter, she describes her views on translations: "I had very purist ideas about translation (ie [sic] impossible)", but she accommodates this by "[writing] poems similar to the French ones to give non-French readers an idea of the atmosphere" (Scott Fonds). She continues to discuss her own views on *Dialogue* regarding "The Tomb of Kings," and even sends Scott copies of some of her translations, apologizing as well for "trying to improve on you and Anne Hébert" (Scott Fonds). Daniel Sloate, in an interview in Montreal on February 19, 2003, admitted that it was Scott who insisted that he read Hébert's *Tombeau des rois*. It was a student of Sloate's at the Université de Montréal who seems to have introduced Scott to Sloate's work. In a letter dated September 9, 1971, Michel Germain writes "étant vous-même écrivain, poète et 'traducteur' vous connaissez sans doute M. Daniel Slote;[15] ce dernier a publié récemment sa traduction des Illuminations de Rimbaud" (Scott Fonds). On June 21, 1971, Scott writes to "Mr. Slote": "I am delighted with your translation of 'Illuminations,' and have been reading it with the greatest pleasure" (Scott Fonds). Fred Cogswell knew Scott through his poetry and would seem to have first contacted him on December 19, 1953, on behalf of *The Fiddlehead*: "I, for one, am a great admirer of your work and would like to see it represented in The Fiddlehead" (Scott Fonds). Ralph Gustaphson would also have known Scott through his poetry and through John Glassco. Peter Miller may not have known Scott directly, but he obviously read his translations, and contacted Scott through closer friends of his, Dudek and Souster. Alan Brown's work as a translator would also have put him in contact with Scott's translations, and while it is unclear if the two men knew each other personally, we can see Scott's influence in Brown's contact with Hébert in order to solicit her feedback on his translations.

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[15] Daniel Sloate was the name used as a writer and translator, while Daniel Slote was the name used as a professor.

As for those who edited anthologies in Canada, contact with Scott was also close. Dudek, as he was about to start teaching at McGill, writes to "Professor Scott" on August 29, 1951 in regards to the current crop of poets in Canada (Scott Fonds). The two would maintain a friendship until Scott's death; indeed Dudek delivered the eulogy at Scott's funeral (Dudek Fonds). Mordecai Richler also had a friendship with Scott, who even wrote in support of Richler in grant applications (Richler Fonds). Robert Weaver was an editor at *Tamarack Review*, where the letters that would eventually become the *Dialogue* were published, but his friendship with Scott dates as far back as his time at CBC Radio in Montreal in the 1950s (Scott Fonds). William Toye was editor at Oxford University Press, where Scott had published a number of books. Leslie Monkman took classes at the Université de Sherbrooke from D.G. Jones, a poet and translator in his own right, as well as founder of the translation journal *Ellipse*, and close friend to Scott. John Robert Colombo also knew of Scott's translations and work as a poet and they knew each other as fellow poets. Raymond Souster would have known Scott through Dudek, but also again as a fellow poet and editor. P.K. Page was also a part of the early Montreal movement, along with Souster and Dudek. Barry Callaghan would have known of Scott, most likely through his father, the novelist Morley Callaghan.

The relationships among the editors, poets, and translators in Canada would seem fairly natural; most of the authors and translators listed here are from the same "generation," so to speak, and most were based at one point or another in or around Montreal, where Scott spent almost all of his professional life. Those translating Hébert later and outside Canada may not have had direct contact with Scott; his influence can be seen in their translations. Katherine Weaver, Alfred Poulin Jr. and Janis L. Pallister all acknowledge knowing about the existence of *Dialogue* and to having used it a varying degree. While neither Willis Barnstone nor Graham Dunstan Martin knew of the existence of Scott and Hébert's *Dialogue*, there are nonetheless possible points of connection. Martin lived in Edinburgh, where Gael Tunbull would spend the second half of his life, and Barnstone was friends with Poulin, having published poetry at BOA Editions, Poulin's publishing house. It is not as direct a connection, however these two translators nonetheless remain no more than two degrees away from Scott.

Conclusion

As I have shown, Scott's influence on Hébert's image as an author in English Canada and beyond is unmistakable. His fingerprints can be found on just about every incarnation of Hébert's poetry in English. The face of translation in Canada would be much different if not for Scott's work and *Dialogue sur la traduction*. Nor perhaps would Hébert be best known for her poem "The Tomb of Kings" if it were not for that same *Dialogue*. Long recognized for his influence on English letters and poetry, as well as translation, we can now see the influence Scott had on one particular French Canadian poet.

While Scott's immediate circle of influence was Montreal, as a part of the McGill Movement and then while a professor at McGill as an intellectual, author, and translator, his ultimate impact reached far beyond the borders of the island. Sherry Simon, in her recent book *Translating Montreal: Episodes of Life in a Divided City* (2006), looks at Scott's attempts to create a bilingual literary scene in Montreal. She concludes: "Frank

Scott arrived too early. He tried to create a scene, but the mix would not take hold. It is hard not to see Scott's crosstown journeys as something of a failure" (52). Perhaps Scott failed to create a larger, more unified literary movement; nonetheless, he not only became "the defining influence for the next generation of English-language translators" (53), but also played an important, if not seminal role in Hébert's popularity in English. Anne Hébert, the poet, in English would not be the same if not for F.R. Scott.

Chapter Two: Anne Hébert - The Collections

Hébert's first collection of poetry, *Les songes en équilibre*, was published in 1942, followed eleven years later by *Le Tombeau des rois*. French poet and family friend Pierre Emmanuel provided the introduction. Hébert had a great deal of difficulty finding a publisher in Quebec for her second collection, and moved to France as a result (Harvey, "Les années"). Les Éditions du Seuil published *Poèmes* in 1960, which consisted of two parts: Part One was a reprint of the poems found in *Le Tombeau des rois* while Part Two, "Mystère de la parole," contained a brief treatise by Hébert on writing poetry called "Poésie, solitude rompue" and fifteen new poems. After 1960, Hébert focused her attention on her prose writing, while still sporadically publishing poems in magazines and journals. It was not until 1992 that *Le jour n'a d'égal que la nuit*, which consisted of uncollected poems published between 1961 and 1980, and new poems written between 1987-1989, along with another meditation on writing poetry, "Écrire un poème," appeared. One year later, in 1993, *Oeuvre poétique (1950-1990)* was published which comprised of poems from *Le Tombeau des rois*, *Poèmes* and *Le jour n'a d'égal que la nuit*. Finally, in 1997, *Poèmes pour la main gauche*, Hébert's final collection of poetry, was published.

In English, Contact Press produced Peter Miller's translations, *The Tomb of Kings* in 1967. Alan Brown's translation, *Poems*, was printed by Musson Books in 1975. Alfred Poulin Jr. published *Anne Hébert: Selected Poems* in 1987 and *Day has no Equal but Night* in 1994, both through BOA Editions. Anansi Press released Lola Lemire Tostevin's translations of the latter collection as *Day has no Equal but the Night* in 1997. Surprisingly, *Poèmes pour la main gauche* has not yet appeared in English translation.

Hébert herself refused to see her first collection ever reprinted or republished in French, let alone in English translation. Thus we are left with five collections of Hébert's poetry in English translation for analysis and comparison.

Peter Miller, *The Tomb of Kings*

Peter Miller is not one of the best-known names in Canadian literature. Nonetheless, he played an invaluable role as an editor/business manager for Contact Press during the 60s. With Louis Dudek and Raymond Souster, Miller helped shape the face of modern poetry in Canada by helping keep the small press devoted to poetry financially viable. He published two collections of poems through Contact Press, as well as three collections of translation: *The Tomb of Kings* by Anne Hébert, *Selected Poems* by Alain Grandbois, and *The Sun-Stone* by Octavio Paz. The Contact Press Records, located at the University of Toronto, also contain a completed, unpublished manuscript of translations of Gaston Miron's early poetry.[16]

Miller was born in London, England, moved to Toronto in 1939, and served in the Canadian Army until 1946. Miller worked for a bank in Toronto up to 1960, when he quit and traveled around the world. He started writing in 1956, and in 1959 was invited to join the editorial team at Contact Press, joining founders Dudek and Souster (Contact Press Records). In a letter to Dudek dated April 2, 1963, Miller explains how he became interested in the French poetry from Quebec: "[It] sprang from an expression of interest from Weaver and Colombo of Tamarack in translations from the Québécois…it was a useful suggestion." Further on, Miller explains to Dudek: "my philosophy [for translation] is – do not translate as an exercise, but give full attention to translation if the original text seems to demand translation – if the work is a necessity" (Contact Press Records). Responding to the letter (and a subsequent phone call), Dudek writes to Miller on April 3, 1962: "This kind of undertaking [translation] has its incidental uses in bringing us together, while at the same time fanatics are beginning to throw bombs and derail trains. We have a very good feeling of common cause with these French Canadian poets, and I plan to arrange further friendly meetings" (Contact Press Records). While Miller's philosophy of translation stemmed from a place that could be described as pure poetry, the specter of the political realities at that time was never far from any of their minds. As he puts at the end of a letter to Dudek dated December 23, 1964: "I do believe that there is a need for [translations] in the field of biculturalism" (Contact Press Records).

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[16] Also located at the archives are letters between Miller and Paz in regards to his translations, as well as Miller and Miron, and Grandbois and Miller.

In an undated letter, probably from sometime in 1964, Peter Miller writes the following to his two fellow editors:

> For years I have felt that this central poetry collection of Anne Hébert's is an indivisible classic which should be available in full English…Frank Scott's fine translations in the Klanak selection of Hébert-Garneau include only six poems from Le Tombeau des Rois [sic]. My versions differ somewhat from his.
>
> How would you two feel about this as a Contact bilingual edition, if permissions can be obtained? (Contact Press Records)

Attached was a copy of Miller's manuscript of his translations of Hébert's poetry. Souster would seem to have replied almost immediately, and offered Miller some feedback in what Souster calls Miller's "inversions." For example, in "Les grandes fontaines," the French line reads "N'y plongent aucune image" (*Oeuvre* 15) which Miller translates as "Plunge into them no image," and Souster instead suggests "Plunge no image into them" (Contact Press Records). Further along in the poem, the French reads

"Où veillent les droits piliers/De ma patience ancienne," (*Oeuvre* 15) which Miller translates as "Where watch the straight pillars/Of my longtime patience watch" and Souster suggests changing to "Where the straight pillars of my longtime patience watch" without suggesting a line break. It should be noted that neither of these changes was incorporated in the final version of the translations. As Miller explains to Dudek in a letter dated December 23, 1964, "I can only say that the word-order is in every case quite deliberate, to achieve a particular effect that I am after: a feeling, if you will, that accords with that of the original without violating rules" (Contact Press Records). Overall, however, Souster lends his support to Miller's work, calling the translations "a beautiful job."

Dudek takes much more time to respond to Miller, but finally on May 23, 1965, he sends Miller twenty-eight pages of handwritten comments on the translations, with another typewritten page, dated two days later, with additional comments (Contact Press Records). Louis Dudek's archives, located at the National Archives in Ottawa, contain Miller's handwritten corrected manuscript that was sent back to Dudek for approval on June 4, 1965. Dudek makes an interesting comment to Miller in one of his opening remarks in regards to Miller's translation of "The Tomb of Kings": "Any differences between *our* versions and Scott's…" (Contact Press Records, emphasis added). Dudek took his role as editor at Contact Press very seriously, and while Miller was the translator, the collection was to be published by the press that Dudek had helped found. Dudek shared Souster's enthusiasm for the translations, writing: "You've got a great book here, very important, and a permanent part of Canadian literature" (Contact Press Records).

Both Dudek and Souster would spare no expense in order to ensure the collection got published.

Miller first expressed his concern over their ability to obtain permission to publish translations of Hébert's poetry in a letter to Dudek dated December 23, 1964: "If you approve the ms., the question of permissions will be especially tricky, as I think Anne Hébert is quite reluctant re translations, from what I hear" (Contact Press Records). Dudek does in fact approve the manuscript and, in a letter dated May 25, 1965, suggests "we use all our big ammunition of support at one time, so as not to risk a refusal…We want her to know that she has the best translator and the best publishing outlet that could be hoped for" (Contact Press Records). Among his suggestions: both Dudek and Souster contacting the poet to speak to Miller's quality as a translator, sending copies of Miller's previous translations, contacting Scott directly and soliciting his support, and sending a copy of the manuscript for Hébert's approval. In the end, Dudek supplies a letter to Hébert, while Souster contacts Scott for his support. In his letter to Scott, dated May 19, 1965, Souster writes:

> Peter [Miller] has translated the whole of the The Tomb of Kings [sic] in what I read as a very smooth translation, but which you would be a better judge…
>
> I have heard it said that you are the sole authorized translator of Anne Hébert's [sic] work, and you have certainly done her justice in English. So it really boils down to how you feel about this other translation, whether you feel it should appear, whether you would be willing to approach the lady to get authorization for Peter's translations. I think that this is an important book which should be more widely available. (Contact Press Records)

As shown in the previous chapter, while Scott does not directly endorse Miller's translations to Hébert, he does not openly object to them. Dudek attempts to reassure Hébert of Miller's quality as a translator in his letter dated June 7, 1965:

> Having examined these translations with the greatest of care, in every word and phrase, I can tell you that I think they are sensitive, true to the spirit of the originals, and reliable as verbal equivalents. One feels again the highly personal, deeply spiritual, and authentic awareness of the borderline between the realms of matter and spirit which is your poetry. There is no touch of the kind of literalism or realism in translation that would destroy the poetic and symbolic intention. (Contact Press Records)

Hébert was already aware, through Scott, of Miller's quality as a translator, but of course it was impossible for Dudek or Miller to know that Scott had long ago lent his tacit support for Miller's translations. Finally, in Miller's letter to Hébert dated June 12, 1965, he chose to focus on the importance of seeing Hébert's complete collection published in translation:

> On pourrait dire – je le dis moi-même – que les traductions admirables de Frank Scott, faites avec votre propre collaboration et conseil, soient définitives: qu'on n'a plus besoin de versions alternatives. Cette assertion pourrait bien se constater quant aux poèmes déjà traduits. Il m'a semblé pourtant que ce livre soit une totalité, divisible si nécessaire, mais qui n'offre sa beauté complète que par sa forme totale. Ces vingt-sept poèmes, réunis, se renforcent et se présentent en petit chef-d'oeuvre. En traduisant, on devrait en reproduire cette forme dans la perfection de sa totalité. Il existe peu de livres de poésie, de n'importe quelle langue, auxquels on pourrait payer un compliment semblable, d'en vouloir garder ensemble chaque poème. (Contact Press Records)

The three letters taken together use every trick in the book, so to speak, in order to convince Hébert to give her permission to publish the translations.

Hébert's reply does not appear until October 1, 1965 (due, as she explains in the letter, to her mother's death) and it would seem that Miller appealed to the perfect sensibility in Hébert. The original manuscript included a translation of "Poésie, solitude rompue" as an introduction to the collection. This was Hébert's major problem with the manuscript as it stood at that moment:

> Le seule remarque que je puisse faire, pour le moment est que "Poésie, solitude rompue" n'est pas une introduction au "Tombeau des Rois" [sic], celui-ci étant préfacé par Pierre Emmanuel. "Poésie, solitude rompue" sert d'introduction au "Mystère de la Parole" [sic]. Les Editions Seuil ayant réuni, dans un seul volume "Le Tombeau des Rois" et "Mystère de la Parole", il y a parfois confusion. Mais cela demeure deux oeuvres tout à fait autonomes, écrites à des époques différentes, en temps et en expérience humaine. (Contact Press Records)

Miller concedes the point in a response to Hébert dated October 8, 1965, stating that the situation can be "facilement régler." It is another long wait for Hébert's next reply. In a letter dated January 14, 1966, she apologizes yet again for the extended delay in a response, due to family obligations and moving between Paris, Quebec City and Montreal. But she finally gives her blessing to the translations, stating:

> Votre traduction me semble juste et fidèle. Cette recréation poétique à partir d'une telle fidélité au texte original est vraiment étonnante. Cela me touche profondément. Merci de tout coeur. Je serais très heureuse si vous envisagiez encore (malgré le temps écoulé) de publier vos traductions de mes poèmes. (Contact Press Records)

What is striking here is her deep appreciation for the Miller's translations, not just the quality, but the time and effort put into recreating her poems in English, not to mention the overall reverence that Miller expressed in regards to her poetry. Her permission is granted, and sets the ball rolling to have the translations published the following year.

For Peter Miller, producing *The Tomb of Kings* was truly a labor of love. One of the reasons that the publication of the book took place more than a year after permission was granted was the care that he took in ensuring that the book also *looked* perfect. Miller and Robert Feher, from Three Star Printing in Montreal, exchanged a number of letters regarding how the poems would appear on the page. The collection was to be bilingual, with the French on the left hand side and the translations on the right. Early in

1967 (Februrary 21, to be exact), Miller insisted that a page be reprinted: "I am sorry, but as I want this book to be as perfect as possible I must ask you to REPRINT PAGE 66, closing up the stanza 2 to agree exactly with the English and adjusting the spacing on the rest of the page" (Contact Press Records). Miller achieves his goal, and in 1967, the complete bilingual edition of *The Tomb of Kings*, complete with a translator's note and Pierre Emmanuel's original introduction translated into English. As Miller writes in the Translator's Note: "The present publication of *The Tomb of Kings* results from my being haunted by this text for a good many years...To provide the complete text in bilingual edition has been an insistent ambition of mine" (11).

Immediate criticism of the collection is limited. His translations of Hébert, however, are critically examined later when reviewers begin to compare the various versions of her poetry in English. In the lone review, published in *Culture* in 1968, Toivo Roht praises the bilingual format of the book and says of Miller's translations: "To make readable poetry out of something which appears disarmingly simple is, as any translator knows, an extremely difficult thing to do, and Peter Miller should be commended for his work" (258). John Glassco was not fond of Miller's translations, having selected none of them for his landmark anthology *Poetry of French Canada in Translation* (1970).[17]

Many of Miller's translations contain what Souster identified as "inversions," but Miller defended those choices as a translator, going as far as exclaiming in his corrections to Dudek: "Gee, you guys are tough on word order! My deliberate efforts to beautify (or gallicise) the English language are a total flop!" (Dudek Fonds). Rather than focus on the "total flops" that occur in the poems, let us look instead at one of Miller's translations that Dudek calls a "perfect job": "The Water Fishermen" (Contact Press Records). Miller quite expertly conserves Hébert's "economy of language...richness of language, and...intensity of feeling" (*TOK* 11). For example, the lines "L'arbre/En ses feuilles" (*Oeuvre* 16) become "The tree/In leaf" (23) or the line "Rien qu'avec la douce patience" (*Oeuvre* 17) as "With only the gentle patience" (23). The only mistake per se is Miller's translation of the last line "De ses deux mains brûlées" (*Oeuvre* 17) as "Of her two withered hands" (23). It is not clear why Miller chooses to translate "brûlées" as "withered" rather than the more direct "burnt," nor why Dudek does not point out this error, given that he points out just about every other possible inaccuracy in his extensive editing job. It is especially interesting given the emphasis Miller placed on the poems being interconnected and part of a whole; the poem immediately following "The Water Fishermen" is "The Hands" which recalls the original image of the burnt hands introduced in the proceeding poem. The lines "And stares at her hands colored by the days" and "Of hands decked with sorrows/Open to the sun" (25) recall the image of the burnt hands, an image that is not recreated in Miller's translation.

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[17] This anthology will be dealt with in detail in the following chapter.

The publication of *The Tomb of Kings* in English was an important event in the history of translation in Canada. An average of only six titles were published in translation from French Canada per year, and the majority of those were novels. Emile Nelligan and Alain Grandbois were the only two poets whose collections were available in English up to that point, with Miller and Contact Press providing the Grandbois translations. While poets such as Frank Scott and John Glassco,[18] among others, were working on their own translation projects at that time, most of the work was being published in small literary magazines. The only anthology in English available with Anne Hébert's poetry was *Twelve Modern French-Canadian Poets* (1958) edited by G. Ross Roy. But this represented only a sample of Hébert's works. Miller and Contact Press provided for the first time a complete collection of one of her works of poetry. While an accident of timing, it is nonetheless significant that the collection was published in 1967, the year of Canada's Centennial and in the middle of the rise in nationalist sentiment in Quebec.[19] It was also the year that Hébert was awarded the Molson Prize by the Canada Council for the Arts. The appetite for such a collection would have been high, and Miller's translations provided an audience for Hébert's poetry that would perhaps not have known her works otherwise.

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[18] See the chapter on F.R. Scott and the anthology chapter for a more complete picture of the work being done in poetry translation.

Alan Brown, *Poems*

In 1975, Musson Book Company published *Poems*, translated by Alan Brown. Brown is perhaps best-known for his much-maligned translation of Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion* (*The Tin Flute*, 1980), but he also won the inaugural Canada Council Prize for translation in 1973 for *The Antiphonary* by Hubert Aquin.[20] According to *Poems*' dust jacket, Brown was at the time of publication Director of Radio Canada International, and began his translations after spending nine years in Europe with CBC's Armed Forces Service. He primarily translated novels, which included *Blackout* by Aquin, *Hail Garlarneau!* by Jacques Godbout, *Chain in the Park* by André Langevin, and *Garden in the Wind* and *Cliptail* by Gabrielle Roy. *Poems* was Brown's only translation of poetry.

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[19] Given that *The Tomb of Kings* was published in 1967, at the height of Canadian nationalism as well as political unrest in Quebec, it is all the more surprising that there was so little reception for the collection.

[20] The Alan Brown fonds at the University of Calgary contains drafts and letters between Brown and Aquin, as well as other drafts and letters from some of the translations mentioned here.

By 1975, Hébert was widely known as a novelist, with the publication of *Kamouraska* in 1970, and the subsequent movie directed by Claude Jutra. And while there were many more anthologies available that contained Hébert's poetry in translation, there did not yet exist a complete translation of her poems to that point.[21] Brown's translations contain the two collections of the original French *Poèmes*: "The Tomb of Kings" and "The Mystery of the Verb." Unlike Miller's collection, his is unilingual, with only the English translations appearing in the book. Brown does not provide an introduction or translator's note of any kind preceding his translations. The archives are unclear as to how the project was initiated, but it would seem that Musson bought, at the very least, the Canadian English language rights to Hébert's poetry, and commissioned Brown to do the translations.[22] Musson contacted Hébert in regards to Brown's translations, and in a letter dated April 22, 1975, she writes to Colleen Dimson, trade editor:

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[21] *Les songes en équilibre* is excluded from the complete works as Hébert herself refused to have the collection republished in French.

[22] Brown was not the first choice for the translations. Colleen Dimson solicited John Glassco on two separate occasions to be the translator for *Poèmes*. Both times, he refused. In a letter dated August 27, 1974, Glassco writes: "Alas, I must confirm my decision not to undertake the translation of Anne Hébert's Poemes (sic). More than ever I see they are quite untranslatable, because translation reveals in the most merciless way their intrinsic intellectual and semantic emptiness, and the verbal music, like the exquisite shimmer and nuance which are all they have, cannot be acceptably reproduced in English" (Glassco Fonds). On December 14, 1974, Glassco reiterates his position: "The work is unsympathetic to me, and the task of putting her verbiage into acceptable English is quite beyond me" (Glassco Fonds). This represents a major shift in Glassco's attitude towards Hébert and her poetry, but also a major shift in his attitude towards translation, both which will be discussed in Chapter Three. Thanks to Brian Busby for bringing these letters to my attention.

> Cette traduction me semble très bonne et j'en félicite M. Brown. Toutefois il est regrettable que nous n'ayons pu nous rencontrer tous les deux et discuter ensemble. Je me contente de faire quelques petites remarques sur le texte anglais et de poser des questions à M. Brown.
>
> Je ne voudrais pas à mon tour en lisant le texte de M. Brown faire office de traducteur et me mêler de ce qui n'est pas mon affaire. Peut-être n'ai-je pas toujours très bien saisi les intentions profondes du traducteur? Le malentendu peut exister dans les sens, auteur-traducteur et traducteur-auteur?
>
> Cela me ferait très plaisir d'avoir l'avis de M. Brown à ce sujet? (Brown Fonds)

With the letter, Hébert includes three typewritten pages of comments concerning the first half of the collection ("The Tomb of Kings"). Particularly interesting is her shifting attitude towards translations. Now with a number of novels having appeared in English, Hébert would seem to be no longer humbled by the thought of being translated and is taking a more active interest not only in the translation of her poems, but the process itself.

Alan Brown responds directly to Hébert in a letter dated May 17, 1975:

> I was delighted to see from your letter...that I had managed to do something acceptable in translation of your poems. I wasn't at all sure before I started that I could, and was even less certain when I had finished. I could have submitted a list of my uncertainties, which might have been longer than your list of questions, and in some cases (not all!) quite a different one. But I'm pleased now to have your list, though a day's conversation would have been both more pleasant and (perhaps) more effective. Maybe that can still happen, as there's a chance I'll be in Europe in June, but I'm not sure yet. (Brown Fonds)

What follows is five pages of questions and explanations to Hébert in regards to the first section of his translations. It would seem that Brown did manage either to meet with Hébert or at least to speak with her, as the letter is annotated with additional changes and modifications. As well, the archives contain three pages of notes on the second half of the translations, "The Mystery of the Verb," a heavily edited manuscript of the poems, and an undated page of handwritten notes in French on the nature of the role of the translator. It is unclear if the notes are a result of a conversation with Hébert or preliminary thoughts in preparation for such a conversation, but they prove to be enlightening in either case. The following is transcribed directly from Brown's handwritten notes:

> Trad. – re-creation du paresseux - pas d'invention, de la re-invention – on peut arreter n'importe où.
> Poesie - extreme limite de la trad. lit.
> Original: suspension volòntaire de l'incrédulité, avoué d'avance: "je vais tricher, tu vas le savoir, tu vas me ccroire quand même."
> Suprème confiance du beau mensonge reussi.
> Comment re-tricher tout ça dans une autre langue? (la beauté de la langue, son des mots, rhythme, metaphore, jeu d'idées, jeux de mots)
> - Mots concrets |
> › les chevaux qui tire la poesie
> - Emotion vrai |
> Rapport écrivain: traducteur - adversaires (temporaire, on espère)
> (Brown Fonds)

It would certainly seem that the two became collaborators to a certain extent as opposed to adversaries. It is also incredible that the collaboration was even able to take place at all, as these conversations took place the same year as the publication of the translation. Pressure from the publishers rushed Brown in his work, as he writes to Hébert in the May 17, 1965 letter: "I'm probably doing this too quickly, but the publishing people are in Montreal for the book fair and want to take this back with them to send to you, as Montreal's mail is uncertain. I'll go over it again for improvements later" (Brown Fonds).

And make improvements, Brown did. His archives are particularly interesting because of the two different drafts of the poems, as well as Hébert and Brown's own commentary. The final versions are found in the eventual publication, leaving three different versions of the poems with commentary. One example of the evolution of Brown's translations, as well as Hébert's influence on those translations is the evolution of the poem "Petit désespoir." The original French reads as follows:

> La rivière a pris les îles que j'aimais
> Le clefs du silence sont perdues
> La rose trémière n'a pas tant d'odeur qu'on croyait
> L'eau autant de secrets qu'elle le chante
>
> Mon coeur est rompu
> L'instant ne le porte plus. (*Oeuvre* 19)

The first version of Brown's translation is:

> The river has retaken the isles I loved
> The keys of silence are lost
> The hollyhock has less odor than I thought
> The water as many secrets as it pleases
>
> My heart is torn
> The moment fails to bear it up. (Brown Fonds)

There are a couple of errors and awkward phrasings that Brown catches immediately. His second version becomes as such:

> The river has retaken the isles I loved
> The keys of silence are lost
> The hollyhock is less fragrant than we thought
> The water has all the secrets that it pleases
>
> My heart broken
> The moment fails beneath it. (Brown Fonds)

Brown tries a number of different words to replace "odor" including "perfume" before settling on fragrant. The second version is the one that Hébert comments on, and she focuses on the fourth line, saying: "Le sens de cette ligne en français et: l'eau n'a pas (cela fait partie de la négation exprimée dans la 3e ligne) autant de secrets qu'elle le chante. C'est à dire pas autant qu'elle veut le laisser croire par son chant" (Brown Fonds). Brown responds that it was "a straight misunderstanding on my part" and the lines finally become: "The water fewer secrets than it sings."

Comparing Brown's translation with Miller's translation of the same poem reveals one of the main differences between the two translators: Brown more effectively recreates Hébert's economy of language, while Miller remains more literal and ornate in his translation. Miller's "Little Despair" reads as follows:

> The river has taken back the islands that I loved
> The keys of silence are lost
> The hollyhock has not such fragrance as one fancied
> The water as many secrets as it sings
>
> My heart is broken
> The moment bears it no longer. (*TOK* 27)

One can immediately see the difference, in particular the third line, which is much starker in Brown's version. Miller would seem to make the same mistake as Brown does with the fourth line, although the insistence that Hébert makes would not seem necessary. Brown's translation of the final line of the poem is not as literal, but it represents a smoother English as compared to Miller's more direct translation, which he would most likely justify as part of his choices as a translator. The differences highlighted here between the two translations can be expanded to apply to the entire two translations of the collection *The Tomb of Kings*.

There is a good deal of critical reception of Brown's translations (most of which he preserved in his archives, and sent to Hébert, as one can see in her personal archives). Almost every major English-language newspaper in Canada ran a review of *Poems*, reflecting both the expanding interest in translation and the other "solitude," and the backing of a major publishing house, as opposed to the smaller Contact Press. The reviews are universally positive in their assessment of both Hébert's poetry and Brown's translations. It is interesting to note that often the two are conflated as being one and the same: within the review, the translations and Hébert's original poems are used interchangeably (Brown Fonds). Hébert was better-known at this point in her career as well, with *Kamouraska* having been published in French in 1970 and in English in 1973. Many of the reviewers praise the new availability of her poetry in English. The newspaper reviews are written by what seems to be staff writers, and perhaps not at all knowledgeable about translation. This is not the case in the reviews published in the more literary and scholarly journals.

Six different literary journals published reviews of Brown's *Poems*, translated by Alan Brown: Barbara Godard for *Waves*, Daniel Sloate for *Meta*, Larry Shouldice for *Matrix*, D.G. Jones for *Queen's Quarterly*, G.V Downes for *Canadian Literature* and David Walker for *Canadian Forum*. Of the six reviewers, David Walker is the only one who was not an academic and translator by trade (he was a novelist). Reading these six reviews in tandem reveals a very interesting development within the history of translation studies in Canada: these reviews become as much reflections on translation, specifically the translation of poetry, more generally as they are a review of Brown's work. Sloate and Godard begin by discussing the structural and phonetic challenges in translating poems, and both go into an analysis of Brown's attempt to recreate Hébert's structure and sound in English. Both praise the results of Brown's efforts. Shouldice and Walker focus on the history of translation in Canada, contextualizing Brown's role within that history. Both these reviewers, too, congratulate Brown on his translations, highlighting

Brown's ability to recreate "the spirit if not letter of the original" (Shouldice 23) and "the refine yet violent intensity of the original poems" (Walker 38). Finally, Jones and Downes criticize Brown's "sparse" translations of Hébert's poems: "This may...leave the lady too stark in her bones" ("Poetry" 151), leading Downes to conclude that readers "will certainly not understand why [Hébert's] reputation stands so high" ("Hébert in English" 89). This collection of more critical reviews and the less literary newspaper reviews reflect a growing interest in both Quebec poets and translation more generally, but also Hébert more specifically. With the existence of *Dialogue*, the discussions of her poetry in translation become not only more common, but also more complex. Brown's translations add another layer, another approach to Hébert's work, stimulating debate and fostering interest in the author herself.

Alfred Poulin Jr., *Selected Poems* and *Day has no Equal but Night*

In 1987, BOA Editions published *Anne Hébert: Selected Poems* in the United States translated by Alfred Poulin Jr.[23] The collection included 38 translations of Hébert's poems; sixteen from *Tombeau des rois* (1953), ten from *Poèmes* (1960) and twelve uncollected poems. While *Selected Poems* was not a complete collection of her poetry, it did represent the first significant amount of Hébert's poems to be published in translation in the United States. The majority of the poems included in the collection had previously been published in 1980 in *Quarterly Review of Literature*. In 1994, Poulin, again through BOA Editions, released *Day Has No Equal But Night*, a translation of *Le jour n'a d'égal que la nuit* (1992). Both editions are bilingual. Poulin was a poet, translator and professor of English at the State University of New York at Brockport, as well as the founding editor or BOA Editions.

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[23] Stoddard published the book in Canada.

The son of French-Canadian immigrants to Maine, Poulin grew up speaking French at home before learning English at school. As he writes in his Afterword to *Selected Poems*: "we spent the better part of our adolescence and early childhood working feverishly hard at negating and trying to erase all traces of our Québécois heritage" (152). It was only in the early 1960s that Poulin discovered the world of Québécois poetry, and through Michel Gaulin, a professor at the University of Ottawa, he was introduced to Anne Hébert's poetry. Poulin continues in his Afterword to describe his interest in Hébert's poetry as both personal and political:

> [T]he world of these poems is the physical and emotional landscape where a vital part of my personality as a person and an artist is rooted, that part I'm attempting to graft back onto my total self...
>
> My interest in Anne Hébert's poetry turns out to be political, too, in so far as the poems themselves are political in the most profound sense of that word. No less than the work of her contemporaries around the world, Hébert also speaks of a national "anguish and isolation" that is as much a political reality as it is a psychological and/or emotional presence in one's personal, ethnic history. (153)

Poulin's personal and political interest in Hébert's poetry mirrors Scott's dual interest in the poet, who speaks to the two men in very similar ways.

Poulin and Hébert would seem to have started a literary friendship that was similar to the one she shared with Scott. In Hébert's personal library, housed at the Centre Anne-Hébert at the Université de Sherbrooke, there are a number of Poulin's collections of poetry and translations that were given to her by the author. Hébert's archives also contain a number of reviews of both collections translated by Poulin, and a draft copy of *Day Had No Equal*. The one thing, however, that both Hébert's archives and the Poulin-BOA Editions Archive are missing is the correspondence that would seem to have taken place between the two about Poulin's translations. In his Prefatory Note to *Selected Poems*, Poulin writes the following: "I am also profoundly grateful to Anne Hébert for her patience, her many suggestions [and] her graciousness" (14). What is available is a discussion of Poulin's translations of *Day Has No Equal* with Michel Gaulin, as well as a number of drafts of the manuscript with a number of annotations.

A draft dated February 5, 1993 seems to have been sent to Gaulin accompanied by three pages of questions. Gaulin responded with a fax dated February 18, 1993 that includes three pages of comments. "La page blanche" is one of the poems which Gaulin and Poulin discuss (Poulin-BOA Editions Archives). Below is the original French poem, followed by the original draft, then a handwritten version added in the margin of the manuscript, and ending with the final version of the poem, as published.

La page blanche Devant moi N'espère que toi Sur la feuille nue	The white page In front of me Wants nothing more Than you on the naked page	The blank page Before me Asks for (hopes for) nothing more Than you on the bare sheet	The blank page In front of me Wants nothing more Than you on the naked sheet
Lisse neigeuse à perte de vue Belle page étale Ne vient que la finesse de tes os Subtile apparition	Smooth woman swimming out of sight Lovely display page Nothing surfaces but the delicacy of your bones Subtle apparition	Smooth (lithe) limitlessly snowy Lonely page on display Emits merely the finesse of your form Subtle apparition	Lithe woman swimming out of site Lovely smooth page on display Nothing surfaces but the fineness of your bones Subtle apparition
Grand squelette debout En filigrane gravé	Tall standing skeleton The watermark	Tall upright skeleton Its watermark	Tall standing skeleton Watermark

Au bout de mes doigts Sur la transparence du jour.	At my fingertips On the day's transparency.	etched At my fingertips Over the day's transparency	At my fingertips On the day's transparency

In his questions to Gaulin, Poulin asks about two parts of the poem: "Belle page étale: Lovely sound in French, but is it simply the absence of punctuation or is there such a thing as a 'page étale' – something like a display page? If so, not in my dictionary" and "Grand squelette debout/En filigane gravé: Now, is the tall skeleton standing *in* the watermark; or is it a matter of 'a tall standing skeleton/In the watermark...' or simply, "Tall standing skeleton/Watermark..." (Poulin-BOA Editions Archive). Gaulin responds to the two questions as follows: "Étale: My dictionary (Le Petit Robert) gives: sans mouvement, immobile; sans aucun agitation. Synonyms are (among others): calme, fixe, stationnaire. I think the analogy, in this poem, is to a still body of water" and "Grand squelette etc: There is no question in my mind that the skeleton is standing upright, posed (??) in *filigrane* fashion on (in?) the page, at the tip of her fingers." It is interesting to note how because of Poulin's original translation of the lines "Lisse neigeuse à perte de vue/Belle page étale." Gaulin continues with the water image, even though this is a blatant mistranslation of the lines. It would further seem that Poulin caught his own mistake in the draft copy, but returned to the mistranslation in the final version, at Gaulin's insistence. Besides the blatant mistake, the translation challenges Poulin to try and recreate the sparseness of Hébert's verse, with varying degrees of success.

There was quite a bit of critical reaction to the two works. *Selected Poems* was widely reviewed on both sides of the border. In her review for *Québec Studies*, Marilyn Gaddis Rose calls Poulin's translations "a genuine *tour de force*" ("*Selected Poems*" 132), while Anna Balakian, for *Translation Review*, praises Poulin's success in "preserving [the] semblance of weightlessness Hébert's French creates" (54). Evelyne Voldeng in *Canadian Literature* outlines a number of small errors in translation, but overall claims that: "Thanks to his creative talent Poulin has, however, added a valuable contribution to the translations of Anne Hébert's poetry" ("Literal Translation" 177). In her review for *University of Toronto Quarterly*, Barbara Godard concludes that Poulin "holds his own" ("Poems" 92), while M. Travis Lane, in *Fiddlehead*, says that "we should be grateful for the plainness of Poulin's translation" (100).[24] *Day Has No Equal* was equally well-received, particularly in the United States, with positive reviews in *World Literature Today* and *Booklist* (Poulin-BOA Editions Archive), while Judy Clarence, in *Library Journal*, calls Poulin's efforts a failure (Poulin-BOA Editions Archive).

Poulin's two collections are quite important for Hébert's visibility in the United States, and thus her overall visibility as a poet. BOA Editions, although a small press, served much the same purpose as Contact Press in Canada, and shared the same type of reputation: providing quality poetry in English and in translation. Poulin's translations became the standard translations in the United States, and are included in many of the anthologies. While the majority of Poulin's translations appeared in *Quarterly Review of Literature*, he also published small selections in nine different periodicals, including *Ms.* and *The American Poetry Review*. According to the Poulin-BOA Editions Archive, BOA promoted both collections of translations quite heavily, advertising in both small and larger poetry periodicals.

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[24] So rare was it to see Hébert's poems translated and published in the United States, when a selection of Poulin's translations appeared in 1980 in *Quarterly Review of Literature*, both *University of Toronto Quarterly* and *Books in Canada* published reviews, even though the translations appeared in a periodical, rather than traditional book format.

Lola Lemire Tostevin, *Day Has No Equal but the Night*

In 1997, House of Anansi Press published *Day Has no Equal but the Night* translated by Lola Lemire Tostevin, who is the author of six books of poetry and four novels.[25] She has also translated Michael Ondaatje's collection *Elimination Dance* into French. Born in Timmins, Ontario, to a French Canadian family, Tostevin learned both French and English as a child, and her bilingual upbringing is illustrated in her semi-autobiographical novel *Frog Moon*. She studied comparative literature at the University of Alberta, and has taught creative writing at York University and the University of Western Ontario. *Day Has no Equal* contains no translator's note or introduction and presents the poems only in English.

In an email exchange discussing her translations of Hébert, Tostevin admitted to trying to "respect the [original French] text as closely as I could while keeping a poetic quality to the English translations" (email 2004-02-05). Tostevin had long had an interest in Hébert's work, and had previously interviewed the author for *Brick Magazine*,[26] but it was Anansi's idea for Tostevin to translate Hébert's latest collection of poems, as Anansi was publishing all of Hébert's later novels in English. Tostevin agreed, saying: "I knew that she was getting on and that is was important to be publishing as much of her work as possible" (email 2004-02-06). Tostevin understood Hébert to be an important author, explaining that "[h]er novels capture the psychological, emotional and intellectual malaise that existed in Quebec when she first began to write. While her early poetry explores the melancholia and anguish of a repressive environment, it also transgresses Romanticism through great beauty and joy" (email 2004-02-06).

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[25] Biographical and bibliographical information has been taken from http://www.pathcom.com/~tostevin/index.htm.

[26] The interview can be found in Tostevin's *Subject to Criticism*.

What is particularly interesting about Tostevin translating Hébert's poetry is her reputation as an important feminist thinker and writer in Canada. Her first two collections of poetry, *The Colour of Her Speech* and *Gyno Text* explore the uses of female language and experience, while experimentally manipulating language and the poetic form. Contrast Tostevin's style to Hébert's more traditionally style and insistence that she is interested in the universal human condition. The juxtaposition between the two women poets within this context, especially in contrast of Poulin's more traditional political approach to Hébert's poetry, would possibly yield interesting results.

Let us return to the poem "La page blanche" from the previous section. Below, accompanying the original French, is Poulin's published version alongside Tostevin's version.

La page blanche Devant moi N'espère que toi Sur la feuille nue	The blank page In front of me Wants nothing more Than you on the naked sheet	The white page Before me Waits only for you On the bare paper
Lisse neigeuse à perte de vue Belle page étale Ne vient que la finesse de tes os Subtile apparition	Lithe woman swimming out of site Lovely smooth page on display Nothing surfaces but the fineness of your bones Subtle apparition	Snowy weave As far as the eye can see Beautiful page at ebb-tide Emerges from your delicate bones Subtle apparition
Grand squelette debout En filigrane gravé Au bout de mes doigts Sur la transparence du jour.	Tall standing skeleton Watermark At my fingertips On the day's transparency.	Tall skeleton standing up At the tip of my fingers Engraved in the filigree Upon the day's translucence

One of the aspects that Tostevin recreates is the sparseness of Hébert's lines. She also more accurately translates "neigeuse" as "snowy," avoiding one of Poulin's more obvious errors. How Tostevin interprets and translates the second verse, however, is interesting, especially as it compares to Poulin's (error aside). In order to conserve the shorter length of Hébert's lines, Tostevin changes the first line into two lines in her version. While accurate (in fact a direct translation), "as far as the eye can see" is not as poetic "à perte de vue." The question of how best to translate "étale" is brought to light in comparing the two English versions. While Gaulin was not wrong when defining the word for Poulin, he omitted the origin of the word, and how the word is typically used, as an adjective, in French. According to *Le Robert et Collins* (1999), "étale" is usually used to describe the sea/ocean when it is calm. Tostevin chooses to use the image of still water when describing the page, although ebb-tide is, again, not the most poetic expression for the image. Both Poulin and Tostevin once again have a different interpretation of the next line: "Ne vient que la finesse de tes os." In fact the two translators have opposing translations of the line; while Poulin translates the line to mean that the bones emerge from the smooth page, Tostevin translates it as the page emerging from the bones. Given the later context of the image of the bones as engraved in the page/watermark, Poulin would seem to have produced the more accurate rendering of the line.

Overall, Tostevin makes every effort to conserve Hébert's short lines and sparse language, although sometimes inaccurately, and sometimes to lesser poetic effect. Neither of the two translators of *Day* has seemed to make as much of an effort to recreate the sound patterns of Hébert's French, either. Jane Koustas, in her review for *UTQ* observes that Tostevin "struggles to avoid a purely literal translation without over-interpreting, and possibly misinterpreting, Hébert's complex poetry" ("Translations" 339). The two newspaper reviews of the collection do not play too close attention to the quality of the translation, with both Barbara Buccilli for *Echo Weekly* and Libby Scheier for *The Toronto Star* praising the beauty of Hébert's poetry with little regard for Tostevin's role (Centre Anne-Hébert). Overall, however, Tostevin's *Day Has no Equal* is important as it was published by a smaller, but well-respected publishing house based in Toronto, as a companion to the publication of Hébert's better-known novels by that same house.

Conclusion

The collections of Hébert's poems available in English are important for a number of reasons. When readers possibly discover Hébert's poetry in an anthology, or through her novels, they then have a source to read further poetry by the author. In particular with Poulin's two collections, an American audience can access Hébert's poetry fairly easily through quality translations. Conversely, with the collections comes a wide variety of her poetry in English, allowing for anthologists more easily to select poems for inclusion in their collections, without having to commission new translations. Multiple versions invite multiple comparisons, which can lead to better translations, and certainly much discussion, critical and otherwise. Most of all, they ensure that Hébert's reputation as a poet remains, despite perhaps being overshadowed by her reputation as a novelist, especially in English.

Chapter Three: Anthologizing Anne Hébert in English Canada

As stated previously, Hébert is one of Quebec's most studied and most translated authors. According to Réjean Beaudoin and André Lamontagne's study of the reception of French Canadian works in English Canada, she is one of the top three studied authors (along with Marie-Claire Blais and Gabrielle Roy). Not surprisingly, Koustas identifies these same three authors as the top-three translated authors into English. Barbara Godard, commenting on this phenomenon, observes "plus de traduction, plus de recensions critiques, plus de capital symbolique, plus de traduction" ("littérature en devenir" 496). The translations of Hébert's poetry are also the focus of a number of scholarly articles - due in large part to the existence of the book *Dialogue sur la traduction*. Her "capital symbolique" for an English-Canadian audience (and beyond) is increased further as none other than Northrop Frye provides the introduction to the letters in *Dialogue*. While there is little doubt about Hébert's status as Québécoise *auteure extraordinaire*, the manner in which she moved from being a celebrated regional author to being included in a world anthology remains largely unanswered. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the anthologization of Hébert's poetry in English, charting the evolution of the author's "capital symbolique" from within the borders of Canada, and the role that translators have played in that process.

The "English" French-Canadian Canon

I borrow my first sub-title from an article by Cynthia Sugars that charts the anthologizing of French-Canadian authors in English. The article focuses on short fiction anthologies and outlines the complex relationship that anthologizers have had with the French-Canadian canon, and the limited (and confusing) exposure that the English reader would have gained through the exposure to said anthologies. Most problematic are anthologies that "silently include translated French Canadian items within a stated 'English only' Canadian context" (121). This creates, according to Sugars, an awkward and imbalanced relationship between the two "official" literatures. Sugars, however, is not the only critic to outline the shortcomings of the picture of French-Canadian literature in English Canada: Jane Koustas, Barbara Godard, Kathy Mezei, Réjean Beaudoin and André Lamontagne, Annette Hayward, Paul Martin, and others have all outlined, in one form or another, the imperfect relationship between the French and English Canadian canons, through the mediated form of translation. Essentially, they all agree that there exists an "English" French Canadian canon. Koustas goes as far as to statistically compare the number of canonical Quebec texts that are available in English translation, which turns out to be around 60% ("Loaded Canon" 46-47). These examinations of the English French-Canadian canon limit their studies to within the borders of Canada, and ignore the impact that the canonization practices have on the image of individual authors.

One of the primary canon formation exercises is the creation of anthologies. According to Robert Lecker, "Anthologies of Canadian literature have always been preoccupied with the construction of nation. In this respect, they resemble other national literature anthologies, which are often devoted to solidifying or challenging an established canon" (*English Canadian* vii). Donna Bennett calls anthologies "[t]he most obvious acts of canon-definition" (221, n1), while Leonard Diepeveen points to the significance of how the anthology has become a "narrative" and therefore is now "overtly polemical and, in some sense, anthropological" (144). Most, if not all, studies concerned with Canadian anthologies look to answer some form of Lecker's basic question: "which authors had been most popular among anthologists...and, if possible, to provide some account of the values implicit in the data" (*Making it Real* 114). They also limit their studies to the national project of the anthology and the collective role of the authors within that national canon/anthology. But there is a distinct lack of attention paid to the effect anthologization has on the perceived identity of an individual author.

Anthologies are complex creations, mediated by a number of forces: editors, publishers, authors, and in this case, translators. As Peggy Kelly observes,

> publishers, whose decisions are determined by market factors, have a major role in the construction of the accessible canon. In addition, editors of anthologies and literary histories have enormous influence not only on the shape and content of their own projects, but also on the shape and content of the traditional and curricular canons. (73)

The question addressed in the following two chapters is the as-of-yet unexamined role anthologies have played in the canonization of a particular author, and in this case, her image as a poet in English. In trying to accommodate as many of the various factors as possible, the following two chapters include not only an analysis of the conditions behind the publication of the anthology - the decision to include Hébert and which translations to include - but also an analysis of the reception and, whenever possible, the sales of said anthologies. One appearance in an anthology does not make an author canonical, but the repeated appearance of Hébert in multiple English-language collections would seem to cement her place in the Canadian literary tradition (Chapter Three) and beyond (Chapter Four).

Anne Hébert as French-Canadian

Hébert is an interesting case study in terms of the evolution of the author's identity through anthologies. She has been widely translated and widely praised. She is also undoubtedly canonical in her language and society of origin: French Quebec. One only needs to consult the entry on the author in *The Annotated Bibliography of Canada's Major Authors* (1979) to see how widely her poetry has been anthologized in French. This is also reflected in the first (English) anthologies in which she appeared. Her primary identity thus for English-Canadians was as a French-Canadian poet.

Twelve Modern French-Canadian Poets, G. Ross Roy, 1958

In 1958, Ryerson Press published the anthology *Twelve Modern French-Canadian Poets*, with G. Ross Roy as the editor and translator. A PhD in English from the Université de Montréal, Roy had also studied in Paris. In his acknowledgement, Roy thanks George Cartier, future founder of the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, for his help "in selecting the poems to be used in this anthology" (iv). Through this consultation with an "insider" to French-Canadian letters, Roy seems to be striving for an authentic sample of the best French Canada had to offer at that time. His goals in editing this anthology are clearly outlined in a brief, two-page introduction: filling a "cultural need" by providing "a sampling of modern French-Canadian verse" in translation (v); contradicting the perception that "twentieth-century French-Canadian poetry does not exist" (v); and showing that "French-Canadian poetry has come of age in the past generation" (vi) through moving towards "universality" yet "[managing] to remain Canadian" (vi). The original French version of each of the poems selected appears on the left hand side of the page, while Roy's English translation follows on the right hand page, a popular format for French-Canadian poetry anthologies.

The project started for Roy as early as 1955, if not before. As mentioned previously, Roy writes to Scott for advice and input in selecting French Canadian poets to include in an anthology. It would also seem to be that the initial project would be to include both English and French poems in the anthology (the closing paragraph of the letter to Scott mentions "the possibility of getting your permission to include a selection of your own poetry"). It is unclear why the project changed: there is no response from Scott in his archives, but Roy did include a phone number in his letter. Two years later, in 1957, this project appears again in the letters of Raymond Souster. In a letter to fellow translator Gael Turnbull, dated May 12, 1957, Souster writes: "Have a mss of French-Canadian translations by G.R. Roy here and under consideration by a private press. If we can get this out it'll be a big thing" (Turnbull Fonds).[27] In a subsequent letter to Turnbull, dated July 7, 1957, Souster writes:

> No luck as yet as to publishing that fine volume of French-Canadian translations. The chap here in Toronto who was to be considering a private press edition I think is a dead loss and I'm going to get the mss back. May let Ryerson have a look at it. It's such a fine book that ways and means of getting it out should be found. Following up your pioneer efforts along this line, it could be an important book for Canadian poetry. (Turnbull Fonds)

On December 1, 1957, the good news finally arrives: "Ryerson have accepted G.R. Roy's bilingual TWELVE MODERN FRENCH-CANADIAN POETS for publication" (Turnbull Fonds). Without the help and support of Raymond Souster, Roy's translations perhaps would never have been published at all.

Roy chose three of Hébert's poems from her second book of poems, *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953): "Les grandes fontaines," "La fille maigre," and "Un mur à peine." The translations are serviceable at best, inaccurate and clumsy at worst. Roy had a tendency to add words to the English translations, one imagines for clarity, but at the cost of Hébert's celebrated economy of language. For example, in "Deep Fountains," Roy translates the first line of the last verse, which reads in the original French as, "O larmes à l'intérieur de moi" (*Oeuvre* 15) as, "Oh tears within the inner reaches of myself" (61). One wonders why Roy chose to translate "à l'intérieur de moi" as "within the inner reaches of myself," creating a wordiness absent in the original. In "Not Quite a Wall," Roy changes the emphasis and impact of the fourth verse,

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[27] Raymond Souster's archives at the University of Toronto seem to start in 1960; his correspondence with Turnbull only goes as far back as 1960, and none of the files housed at the library date earlier back than that. There is also no correspondence from Roy in the archive. I would like to thank Patricia Godbout for providing me with the letters from the Turnbull Fonds.

> Seule ma fidélité me lie
> O liens durs
> Que j'ai noués
> En je ne sais quelle nuit secrète
> Avec la mort! (*Oeuvre* 33)

when he translates the verse as

> My faithfulness only binds me
> Oh bitter knots
> Which I tied myself
> With death on some forgotten secret night! (65)

Moving the "only" in the first line, as well as combining the last two lines and altering the mention of death, shifts the meaning and lessens the impact of the statement as to the role the persona herself played in her own imprisonment.

The choice of the poems themselves reflects Roy's view of French-Canadian poetry as being an extension of the French symbolist movement, as well as his central thesis that

> much of today's poetry centers around the inner self of the poet – his intimate relationship with other people, with himself, and with God. This is the stuff of the greatest of poetry, and the most universal. By telling of one person, himself, the poet tried to speak

> for all, just as the reader tries to bridge the gap from the poet's experience to his own. (vi)

For Roy in 1958, recent French-Canadian poetry is universal, inward looking, and primarily male. Of the twelve poets selected for the anthology, only three are women (Hébert, Rina Lasnier, Isabelle Legris). It is interesting, then, to see that he has included "La fille maigre" in his selection of poems by Hébert. One of the most engendered poems from her second collection, it clearly identifies the narrator as female (the other two poems by Hébert provide no clues as to the gender). All three poems, however, reflect a certain inward-looking tendency, as the "Je" battles with and within herself. The selections, and the order in which they are placed, reflect the order and evolution that takes place in the full collection, *Le Tombeau des rois*: "Deep Fountains" takes place in an external, open setting and involves "us" but moves in the last verse towards "the inner reaches of myself" and the separation of the us into the narrator and other (61); "The Thin Girl" continues this separation between the narrator and the other, as well as sharpening the focus of the narrator internally ("I have beautiful bones" [63]); and finally in "Not Quite a Wall" the narrator's increasing isolation and powerlessness. One wonders, however, if a reader would recognize this progression without being already familiar with the entire collection.

Reaction to the anthology is limited. The only review (according to Kathy Mezei's exhaustive bibliography) appears in *The Canadian Forum*, in 1958. In it, Laure Rièse laments that Roy "did not evaluate the poets he presents, that he has not shown how they fit into the present pattern and evolution of French-Canadian literature," and concludes that "the truth is that much of the poetry cited is still dense and dry" (286).

One wonders if it is in fact the poetry itself that is dense and dry, or the translations. In that regard, Rièse is kinder to Roy, stating that

> Certainly, Mr Roy has faithfully reproduced the physical content and the actual words. We wonder if he does not fall short sometimes of the mood and occasionally of the rhythm...The author has adhered closely to the original and has faithfully suggested what had been intended for the reader without undue elaboration. (286)

Rièse observes, in much the same way that Roy does in his introduction to the volume, that this was a "most commendable work" for "making the poetry of French Canada accessible to English readers" (286). John Glassco is less kind when mentioning Roy's anthology in his article "The Opaque Medium," which deals specifically with the situation at that time (1969) in regards to the translation of French Canadian poetry. Glassco never directly names the anthology, instead identifying Roy in his short "history of serious translation of French-Canadian poetry," as well as the date of the anthology's publication (1958), and closes the discussion with the statement that "Roy's miscellany is noteworthy as an example of poetry translation at its weakest" (28). F.R. Scott refers to the anthology in a letter to G.V. Downes, and Downes responds calling the collection in a letter dated August 13, 1962 "singularly uninspired" (Scott Fonds). Louis Dudek and Michael Gnarowski list the anthology in the section of their 1967 book, *The Making of Modern Poetry in Canada*, entitled "Relations with French Writing in Canada." Dudek and Gnarowski (who had previously worked with Roy on a bibliography of Canadian poetry before 1950) go on to comment on the financial difficulty facing the publication of translations: "The educational and publishing machinery of the country is not yet adjusted to serve the day-to-day needs of a dual culture" (249). Roy, in his acknowledgements, thanks "the Modern Language Association of America for their grant which was used in obtaining material" (iv). This is perhaps not an illustrious introduction to Hébert for English Canada, but the fact that one of Canada's most important presses at that time (Ryerson) was willing to put out a book of translations of French Canadian poetry represented a significant and perceptible shift in priorities for that period. And this shift would begin to gain momentum going into the 1960s. This increased Hébert's accessibility in English, as a French-Canadian poet.

The Poetry of French Canada in Translation, John Glassco, 1970

Although the 1960s did not see any anthologies of French-Canadian poetry that included Anne Hébert, the period did witness the preparation of one monumental anthology that would be released in 1970: John Glassco's *The Poetry of French Canada in Translation*, published by Oxford University Press. That another major Canadian publishing house was willing to support such a monumental project was a result of two major forces, which were not totally unrelated. Politically, as a result of the Quiet Revolution and the rise in nationalism in Quebec, there was an appetite to study Quebec. Financially, there were more opportunities for the publisher to subsidize a project as expensive as publishing poetry in translation: the project received generous grants from both the Canada Council and Quebec's Department of Cultural Affairs. Preparation for the anthology began as early as 1957, at the suggestion of Scott, and for the next thirteen years, Glassco would contact virtually every person who had put pen to paper to translate a French-Canadian poem, and as many French-Canadian poets and editors as he could think of. The result is an anthology that includes 193 poems, by 48 French-Canadian poets, translated by 22 different translators, including Glassco himself. Hébert has 13 poems included in the anthology, translated by Scott, Downes, Ralph Gustafson and Glassco.

Glassco had earlier published translations of five of Hébert's poems ("Petit désespoir", "Vie de château", "Les mains", "Le Tombeau des rois", "Les petites villes") in *The Canadian Forum*, October 1959. He had been introduced to the poet at Scott's home in May 1958, and Hébert had sent a copy of *Le Tombeau des rois* to him as a result. Glassco was apparently so taken by her poetry, that he began to translate her poems directly in the margins of the book (Glassco Fonds). In October 1958, and then again in July 1959, he sent his translations to Hébert for her approval. She replied on September 4, 1959, writing that

> Je suis touchée de la grande attention poétique que vous avez apportée à la traduction de mes poèmes, et je vous en remercie de tout coeur. Dans l'ensemble, cela me plaît beaucoup. J'aurais aimé pouvoir vous signaler quelques détails qui me paraissent s'éloigner quelque peu du texte original. Mais comme le temps presse, je ne puis que vous assurer que je serais très heureuse que le "Canadian Forum" publie vos traductions de mes poèmes. (Glassco Fonds)

Already involved in the translations of Hébert's cousin, Saint-Denys-Garneau, Glassco would ensure that the translations of Hébert's poems were of the highest quality.

Throughout, Glassco seemed to be prepared either to improve his own translations or to put his own translations aside for ones that he deemed to be of superior quality; of the five original translations, only one was selected to appear in his anthology, "The Little Towns." For two of the poems ("Manor Life" and "The Tomb of Kings"), Glassco chose instead to use Scott's translations, as well as selecting Downes's translation of "A Touch of Despair," which he identifies in a letter to Downes dated August 12, 1967, as being "much better than Peter Miller's or my own version" (Glassco Fonds).

Convenience was not a determining factor, as Miller's translations of Hébert's poetry were readily and easily available. Glassco was not tremendously fond of Miller's translations, a sentiment reflected in another letter to Downes dated May 1, 1966, "I find Miller's work most uneven in quality" (Glassco Fonds) and in his article "The Opaque Medium," where Glassco points to (but does not directly identify) Peter Miller's translation of Hébert's "Vieille Image" as a "[display] of ignorance and laziness" (30). Glassco's inclusion of Gustafson's translation, "Cities in Sails," was a result of Gustafson, who has a number of other translations in the anthology, simply submitting the poem. In the letter that accompanied his submission, Gustafson wrote to Glassco on October 16, 1966: "Could you find a place in your anthology for the enclosed poem of Anne Hébert?...this poem (which I found in the Canadian issue of the Atlantic Monthly) intrigued me: difficult, full of colours, and as good a capture of the act of sex as anyone's" (Glassco Fonds). Glassco was excited to accept the poem, saying on October 19, 1966: "You have really re-created the poem itself: also, it is a fine example of her more recent and so to say more released work. She is at last out of those rooms and tombs and has stopped studying her hands" (Glassco Fonds). This approach to the selection of Hébert's work reflects Glassco's overall approach to the anthology: the quality of the translations themselves were of paramount importance, ultimately leading to his choice of titles: "[T]his is an anthology of poetic translations rather than of translations of poetry" (*Poetry* xxiv). Glassco wanted the translations to stand alone, and chose not to include the original French poems. As he states in the conclusion of his introduction: "The translations in this collection are presented as things that must stand on their own dependent on their own poetic merits, owing to their originals nothing but the inspiration that has here found a partial rebirth" (xxiv).

Two of the strongest criticisms of *The Poetry of French Canada in Translation* (which was, overall, very well received and widely praised for its significance), had to do with Glassco's lack of more recent poets and his attitude towards Quebec nationalism. The two criticisms are not mutually exclusive, as Glassco states in his introduction: "it is a truism that politics and nationalism have somehow never managed to make really good poetry" (xix). He explains that the poetry in his anthology reflects "that the poetry of French Canada is a poetry of exile" (xvii), criticizing as well the presence of "the dead hand of surrealism – an influence no less pernicious than any other worn-out poetic method" (xix). He further emphasizes:

> that within these limits French-Canadian poets have accomplished marvels of form, insight, music and grace. The work of Nelligan, Morin, Choquette, Grandbois, Saint-Denys-Garneau, Rina Lasnier and Anne Hébert is of the first, or almost the first, order of poetry; but the measure of its worth is in its transcendence of the historical situation, of that French fact which, however fundamental to the life of the people itself, was nonetheless something that these poets assimilated and surmounted: the single-minded passion by which they did so is the measure, indeed, of their poetic stature. (xvii-xix)

This idea of the poet transcending his or her linguistic or "national" origin is important in the progress of an author beyond provincial borders, in this case Hébert. Glassco's claims about Hébert were not ignored; in fact, placing her within an historical context seemed to bring out the quality of her poems. A review in the *Toronto Telegram* concludes: "That there are three or four poets – Nelligan, Saint-Denys-Garneau, Hébert, and perhaps Grandbois, who have taken this thick, perverse, inverted nationalism and religiosity and fashioned it into poetry that transcends the moment, is all the more remarkable" (Glassco Fonds). J.M. L'Heureux, in his review of the anthology for *The Canadian Forum*, restates the same list of poets as Glassco in his introduction, and goes on to comment on their poems: "Significantly, they are poems which have shed almost completely the outward signs of their place of origin, like abstract cubes replacing the pines and rocks of earlier paintings. Forsaking the 'poetic' eloquence of their predecessors, they move towards more abstract, more universal themes" (182). Again we are already seeing Hébert's image as that of a poet who transcends linguistic or provincial/national boundaries beginning to take shape. We can also see the connection between an editor's decision in writing the introduction and the reception of a particular author within the anthology; in this case, Hébert is singled out by both Glassco and the critics.

The quality of the translations themselves is, of course, highly debatable. Much has already been written on the quality (or lack thereof) of Scott's translations. Downes's translations will be dealt with a little later, so I will focus here on Gustafson and Glassco's translations. "Cities in Sails" is the only poem included in the anthology that represents Hébert's more "recent" poems. After *Poèmes* appeared in 1960, Hébert did not put out a collection of poems, until *Le jour n'a égal que le nuit* in 1992, although she published poems in periodicals. Gustafson's translation attempts to recreate the sonorous quality that the original French poem contained. For example, lines such as "Îles dévalant les pentes de mer, vent debout, soleil en proue" are translated as "Isles descending the slopes of the sea, headwind, sun at the prow"; while not inaccurate in the translation of the images evoked by the original French, the translated text also maintains much in terms of the repetition of sounds. Glassco's own translations suffered the same fate, and it is a testament to Hébert's own economy of language that her English poems are forced into what seems to be comparative wordiness. In "Les petites villes", Glassco translates "Les parcs et les jardins sont mort/Les jeux alignés/Ainsi que dans un musée" as "Dead, the parks and gardens/The games are all put to sleep/In a dead museum." Glassco artificially extends the length (and simplicity) of the lines in this verse, as well as altering the image presented by Hébert in French.[28]

One cannot underestimate the impact of this anthology on the English French-Canadian canon. It was the first of its kind, and widely read in classrooms and homes across the country. Hébert's visibility as a poet for an English-speaking Canadian would not have been higher. Her place within both the acccessible and curricular canon was beginning to become firmly established. And while critics argued about the place (or exclusion) of other poets in regards to Glassco's anthology, none would find fault with Hébert's inclusion, and she would continue to find a place within the English French-Canadian canon.

The Poetry of Modern Quebec, Fred Cogswell, 1970, 1971, 1976

One of the Glassco's harshest critics also put out an anthology of translated poems in 1970. Fred Cogswell published through Fiddlehead Books *One Hundred Poems of Modern Quebec* in 1970. In 1971, he published *A Second Hundred Poems of Modern Quebec*. In 1976, *The Poetry of Modern Quebec* was issued by Harvest House as part of their French Writers of Canada series, which consolidated the first two anthologies. Cogswell levels a number of criticisms against Glassco's anthology, including his dismissal of the more nationalist poets:

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[28] For a more complete comparison of Glassco's translations of Hébert's poetry, see Godbout's chapter about Glassco, p. 254-57.

> If one reads and takes seriously the work of the current Quebec nationalist writers, one will be reluctantly compelled to see...the questions before Quebec...It is a bitter choice, and it will be made uncompromisingly with blood unless men in greater number throughout Canada come to understand what the issues are. (103)

And, as a result, Glassco's lack of recent poets: "His anthology in this regard does not accurately reflect French Canadian poetry during the past ten years" (103). But perhaps the most scathing critique of Glassco's anthology is Cogswell's assessment of the translations themselves:

> But since I have the kind of technical competence that can put into rhymes in English anything that a poet can in French, and because I have a sensitive eye and ear for incongruity in rhythm or diction, I am irritated whenever I see sonnets whose lines do not rhyme, quatrains that keep none or half of the rhyme-schemes of the original, stanzas that add a line to the number of lines the author already had, or words and rhythms palpably out of place with regard to the whole effect. I consider such work only half-translations, and I found more to annoy me in John Glassco's book than I felt I ought to have done. (104)

Cogswell's collections seem to be in direct contrast to Glassco's anthology and in direct response to Cogswell's own criticisms of it. In his introduction to *The Poetry of Modern Quebec* (the only collection of the three to contain an introduction), Cogswell clearly states that he is interested in "the works of several major poets of the past four decades in considerable depth" (5). He is interested in particular in charting the "rapid change" that Quebec poetry had experienced over his chosen time period. The final anthology contains 20 poets, while the other two earlier anthologies contained 37 and 42 poets respectively. Although there is some overlap, a great many of the poets and poems published by Cogswell in his three books do not appear in Glassco's anthology.

Hébert is one of the few poets who survives through all three anthologies. It is interesting to note how Hébert, although well into her career in the 1970s, is still considered one the recent modern poets from Quebec. In *One Hundred Poems of Modern Quebec*, two translations appear: "Eve" (from *Poèmes*) and "Offended Parties" (at that time still uncollected). Cogswell's *Second Hundred Poems of Modern Quebec* included "And it Was Day," "Snow," "Captive Gods", "Night," and "Wisdom Broke My Arm," all from *Poèmes* (1960). In the final anthology, "Our Hands in the Garden" is added, while "Offended Parties" is removed, for a total of seven poems. This is about average for a poet appearing in Cogswell's *Poetry of Modern Quebec*. Not much is known about the selection process used by Cogswell, nor about the translation process itself. Cogswell discusses Hébert in his introduction to the final anthology, at first in relation to her cousin Saint-Denys-Garneau, but then goes on to say that, "Both Anne Hébert and Roland Giguère, however, having mastered the form and sensibility of this existentialist poetry were to move outward toward greater involvement with the external world in their work" (6). This is reflected in Cogswell's selection of Hébert's poems: missing are those "internal" poems from *Le Tombeau des rois* (including the well-known title poem), and included instead are the poems from that early collection that reflect a more outward-looking perspective ("Our Hands in the Garden" and "Night").

Cogswell's review of Glassco's collection, his later introduction to *Unfinished Dreams*, and comments from his longtime collaborator, Jo-Anne Elder (who co-edited and co-translated *Unfinished Dreams* with Cogswell) provide additional clues to his choice of poems and translation style. In his critique of Glassco's anthology, Cogswell, as quoted already on page 93, points to weaknesses in poetic form ("I see sonnets whose lines do not rhyme, quatrains that keep none or half of the rhyme-schemes of the original, stanzas that add a line to the number of lines the author already had, or words and rhythms palpably out of place with regard to the whole effect" [Review 104]). Elder comments that Cogswell initially was a formalist, where "form was more important than content" (Interview with Elder 2004-07-21). This dedication to form was expressed by Cogswell in a number of different forums, notably in *Ellipse*: "As both alliteration and assonance are enhancers of cadenced verse, in choosing the vocabulary in the English translation, I have used both alliterative and assonanced words in clusters, wherever possible in making my choices from the French originals" ("Strange Capture" 15); and in an interview with Laurence Hutchman: "Well, for one thing, a good translator, if he finds the thing that at the heart of the poem is a living thought or a living situation or something that might be these things, will somehow or other emphasize these things in the particular work concerned" (69). In a draft introduction to *Unfinished Dreams*, Cogswell comments that "some poems are more translatable than others, [therefore] the choice of poems has been dictated more by the merit of the poems in translation than by the merit of the original" (Fiddlehead/Cogswell Papers). This commitment to quality through formal translation, coupled with his thesis regarding Hébert as an "external" poet, would explain reviewer John J. O'Connor's "[surprise] not to find...Hébert's 'Le Tombeau des rois,' 'Les Chambres de bois,' and 'Vie de château'" ("Translations" 1977, 413), three of Hébert's most inward-looking poems.

Cogswell's devotion to formalist methods of translation serves Hébert's poems well. Philip Stratford observes that Cogwell's "verse...is plainer, more direct, often less mannered" (90), meaning it in a negative sense overall, but as he observes as well "whenever simplicity is required, or native strength, and...a kind of prosaic humility [Cogswell's] verse is better" (90). As reiterated by J.M. L'Heureux, Cogswell's "preference is consistently for the straightforward statement rather than the circumlocution, for compression rather than dilution" (183). Hébert's poems require such a simplicity, such a straightforward approach, and her verse is plainer and more direct, and as such Cogswell's translations seem to be particularly suited to Hébert's style. Stratford underlines Cogswell's translation of "Eve" as being "especially noteworthy" (413). However, others criticize Cogswell for his devotion to meter and rhyme. Patrick Holland calls the translations "wooden" (191) while Pierre Cloutier observes that "rhyme is a constraint which Cogswell need not have imposed on himself at all" (75). Over-all Cogswell seems to be at his best when he remains true to his formalist tendencies. Jean-Guy Carrier points to Cogswell's translation of these lines of "Neige": "Veille mon coeur, la neige nous met en selle sur des coursiers d'écume" as "Remain awake, my heart, snow transports us on the backs of steeds of foam" as being one of his less successful translations (23).

Hébert remains at the center of many of the reviews. From being listed as one of the "major" poets included in the anthology (Holland), to specifically underlining translations of her poems (Carrier and Stratford), to using Hébert as a poetic landmark (L'Heureux), almost all the reviews seem to recognize the importance of Hébert, or at least attribute to her an importance above others included in the anthology. Another tendency that begins to appear in the reviews are comparisons of translations, understandable due to the relative volume of anthologies and translations that were now available. Glassco or Cogswell (*One Hundred Poems* and *Poetry of French Canada in*

Translation were both released in 1970)? Cogswell or Scott (*Poetry of Modern Quebec* and *Poems of French Canada* both were released in 1976)? While G.R. Roy was celebrated for simply providing an anthology at all, Cogswell, Glassco, Scott and others could now be a part of a larger tradition of translations. As stated by Stratford: "I recommend the game of comparing translations as a fast and fascinating way to get into the heart of the poetry, the French as well as the English" (90). The standard had been raised, with major publishing houses, and small presses alike putting out anthologies put together by some of the most important French-Canadian poets of the time, and all of whom agreed that Hébert deserved a place within their pages.

Scott's *Poems of French Canada*, released in 1976 by Blackfish Press (dealt with in more detail in Chapter One), is an example of a major poet/translator putting out an anthology through a smaller press. Scott collected 38 of his translations of French Canadian poetry and put them together in this limited anthology. His translations of Hébert had already appeared in his collection *Saint-Denys-Garneau and Anne Hébert* (1962), as well as a number of other anthologies, and have already been dealt with in the previous chapter. While nowhere near as focused as Cogswell's anthology, or as comprehensive as Glassco's, *Poems of French Canada* does collect Scott's efforts in translation over the past three decades.

Out of the Violent Dark, Gwladys Downes, 1978

In 1978 the poet Gwladys Downes released *Out of the Violent Dark*, published by Sono Nis Press. This would be her second anthology containing a combination of her translations of French Canadian poetry alongside her original poems. In 1973 Klanak Press released *When We Lie Together: Poems from Quebec and Poems by G.V. Downes*, which contained 10 translations and four original poems. This particular volume did not contain any translations of Hébert's poetry, although Downes acknowledges the poet's influence in her preface, observing that her own poem "Mirror, Mirror," "rather reminds me of Anne Hébert" (11). She concludes her preface stating that: "It is hoped that this latest volume in Klanak's poetry series will do something to bridge the gap between the two cultures in Canada" (11). Downes reiterates this dedication to "bridging the gap" in her article "Is the Muse Bilingual" (1969), observing that "In Canada today, for example, the need of translations is obvious; the bilingual writer finds himself working in a society which is becoming more and more aware of the role the translator can play in interpreting various parts of the national dialogue" (195). In her conclusion, she echoes Glassco's point that "the need for accurate renderings in English of French poems is urgent" (199). *Out of the Violent Dark* contains 27 translations and 71 of her own poems, with three translations of Hébert's poems, "A Touch of Despair," "The Planting of Hands," and "A Little Dead Girl," all three of which had appeared previously in Glassco's anthology. Although no introduction accompanies *Out of the Violent Dark*, one can deduce that Downes's aim with this collection was similar to the aim of her previous collection. All of the translations in the latter collection are once again exclusively of French-Canadian poems and poets.[29]

It is through *The Fiddlehead* and Cogswell that Glassco would come into contact with Downes, inviting her to submit translations to his anthology. Downes is still concerned with repeating translations that already exist, writing to Glassco on April 27, 1966: "I am a little disappointed, in reading Louis Dudek's new anthology, to discover that Une Petite Morte...[has] already been translated, and so very accurately, by Peter Miller" (Glassco Fonds). Glassco encourages Downes to submit her translations anyway, stating in a letter dated April 25, 1967, that he "simply [couldn't] see [himself] preferring any version of his to yours." Glassco offers quite a bit of feedback to Downes and encourages her in that same letter to continue translating and submitting to the anthology, especially poems (such as Hébert's) that he saw were "particularly fitted to your fine 're-making' technique."

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[29] In 1999, Downes released a new collection of her poems and translations from Quebec entitled *House of Cedars*. The book contains one translation of Anne Hébert's poetry, which had previously appeared in *Ellipse* in 1993. The book has been excluded from this study because of its relatively few translations over-all, but will be dealt with more completely in the Conclusion.

This "re-making" technique is explained more fully by Downes as "free-wheeling if necessary, but not necessarily free-wheeling" ("Muse" 196), where the "translation sets as its ideal the literal poetic, but is ready to sacrifice literal exactness under some circumstances" (169-170). She offers an example of this technique using one of Hébert's poems, "Petit désespoir." The last two lines read, "Mon coeur est rompu/L'instant ne le porte plus", and she offers this translation: "The stream no longer bears/My tired heart" (198). Interestingly, the version of the last two lines that is finally published reads "my tired heart no longer/moves with the stream" (*Out* 43; Glassco, *Poetry* 142). The version that appears in the article was sent to Glassco as an option, but he preferred what would eventually appear in print, commending the translation of the entire poem in a letter dated August 12, 1967, as he found that Downes "re-link[ed] the poem which makes it flow and, I think, even add[ing] another dimension" (Glassco Fonds). In either version, however, the last two lines illustrate Downes re-making technique. This "remaking" technique was not always easy for Downes. As she expressed to Glassco in a letter dated

December 27, 1965: "I think after working on them [Hébert's poems] that her poetry, being so chiseled and meticulous, probably loses more in translation which isn't careful, than that of other poets. It is fundamentally easier if one can catch a rhythm in the second language not to follow syntax than to stick to it!" (Glassco Fonds). Her approach to the poems, their syntax and their rhythm seem to be in opposition to Cogswell, but more in line with Glassco's, who, as Patricia Godbout describes it, was interested in "le palimpseste" (175), that is the erasure to a certain extent of the original in favour of the translation, and hence his decision to omit the original French poems.

The title of this particular collection, *Out of the Violent Dark*, reflects Downes' own attraction to French-Canadian poets. In an 1982 article, "Women Poets in Quebec Society," Downes quotes Michèle Lalonde describing the situation in pre-Quiet Revolution Quebec: "We were living under the sign of the great big NO, in a silent, asphyxiating pharisaic world of forbidden thoughts, forbidden words and deeds and passions and so on ad infinitum, until there was nothing left to be experienced except the vacuum itself" ("Women" 108). Jeanette Lynes has noted the similarities between Downes's choice of French-Canadian poets and her own aesthetic, illustrating the "strong parallels" such as the "descent into an underworld, sometimes associated with death and sometimes with the subconscious." (43). It is not surprising, then, that Downes quotes "Le Tombeau des rois" extensively in her article dealing with Quebec women poets:

> [Anne Hébert's] poetry is spare, subtle, elegant, pared down to the essentials – pure in the best sense of that abused and overworked terms. With the most restrained hand and ear, she draws a magic circle which pulls the reader into the poems in the same way one listens to a Mozart melody. There is no linguistic dross here, no padding. Broadly speaking, the material is the adventures of the protean psyche caught at certain moments of intensity in which no division exists between subject and object, desire and expression,

> speaker and language. The moment is incarnated in an image, frequently a single one whose ramifications are elaborated in language which becomes simply a clear pane of glass revealing the configurations of the poet's mind...This is not "Quebec poetry," but simply poetry, and although one of Anne Hébert's later poems "Eve" had been hailed by the feminist movement, she is not fundamentally a feminist. Her commitment is to literature. ("Women" 106-7).

As we can see from the above quote, Downes shares the sentiment that Hébert in fact transcended the regional, linguistic, and gender labels often reserved for her poetry. By the time this article was written, Hébert had received a fair amount of national and international praise as a novelist based in Paris. Downes reminds the reader that Hébert was first, and foremost, a poet of the highest quality.

The three poems by Hébert translated by Downes published in Glassco's anthology are reprinted exactly in *Out of a Violent Dark.* Critical response to the collection is limited, and focuses primarily on the work as a part of the Downes's evolution as a poet. Lynes praises Downes and her corpus, stating that "her skills as poet as translator demonstrate an admirable range of abilities, and her bringing francophone poetry to anglophone readers represents a noteworthy contribution to Canadian letters" (44). In her review, Rona Murray chooses to focus primarily and almost exclusively on Downes's own poetry, but does mention her "many exquisite translations" and singles out her translation "The Planting of Hands" for "the purity of its images, its gentle madness" (157). Kathy Mezei brings Downes's translations into sharp focus by comparing the lone female translator's versions to those by her male colleagues.[30]

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[30] Four other women had at the time Mezei produced her article (1986) translated Hébert's poems for American-published anthologies, which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Focusing on language and style, Mezei outlines the differences between Hébert's translators on the level of poetic style:

> The persona [in *Le Tombeau des rois*] often resembles the frail yet lugubrious girlish figure portrayed in "La fille maigre": "Je suis une fille maigre/Et j'ai des beau os". Neither F.R. Scott's translation "I am a lean girl/And I have beautiful bones" or Alan Brown's "I am a thin girl/With fine bones" quite captures the desperate fleshlessness of the persona, though Scott, a fine translator of Hébert's poetry creates a sharper, more poetic rendition." ("Gender" 138)

Mezei goes on the compare Gwladys Downes' translation of the poem "Une petite morte" with Brown's, pointing out that Downes "creates a poem that is at the same time more concrete and eloquent than did Alan Brown" (139). She continues, stating that "Downes has entered the poem, its experience, its images, while Brown stands outside, awkwardly. Downes' "curls on the sill" is more rhythmic and evocative than Brown's "struck down on our threshold"; "she is a child white in her foaming skirts" is too literal a rendering [by Brown]…Downes has a finely tuned ear to Hébert's nuances" (140). Looking at the lines in question, Brown translates them as "collapsed on our sill" and "She's a white child in her mossy skirts." One should also note that Downes changes one line in the original version to two lines in her translation: "Nous n'osons plus sortir depuis qu'elle est là" becomes "Now that she is there/We do not dare go out." The other translators maintain the one line, and even invert the word order. This is a clear reflection of Downes "remaking" technique, where the focus is clearly on the target poem, rather than the original poem. It is also clear that Hébert remains central to the critics, as well as the translator herself.

Esprit de Corps, Blouin, Pozier and Jones, 1997

There is a significant time gap between Downes's anthology and the next anthology of Quebec poets in translation. It would seem that the fervor experienced during Canada's Centennial and the subsequent moneys invested into the project of nation building, combined with the after-effects of the first Quebec referendum, as well as the seemingly total lack of interest in English Canada[31] helped render the act of anthologizing French-Canadian authors unpopular. But in 1997, Écrits des Forges (Trois Rivières) and Muses' Company (Winnipeg) jointly published *Esprit de Corps: Québec Poetry of the Late Twentieth Century in Translation.* The book was edited by Louise Blouin, Bernard Pozier and D.G. Jones and contained almost the same poems as the French anthology *Poètes québécois*, also published by Écrits des Forges in 1996. While Blouin and Pozier were the editors of the original French anthology, Jones was brought on to supervise the translations, due in no small part to his long-time association with the translation journal *Ellipse*, published until recently at the Université de Sherbrooke. In the introduction to the original French anthology, Blouin and Pozier provide a "Petit parcours de la poésie québécoise: Archéologie de nos vers." The volume starts with Louis Fréchette (1839-1908) and includes ten poets born before 1910, the date when the English version of the anthology begins with Rina Lasnier (1910). Hébert is mentioned in the French introduction as an example of a poet from the "époque de la solitude," which includes the 1930s, 40s, and 50s. Interestingly enough, the poems selected for the anthology are all from Hébert's later collection, *Le jour n'a d'égal que la nuit* (1992).

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[31] For a detailed outline of this disinterest from English Canada, see Paul Martin's PhD dissertation, Re: Producing Culture(s): The Politics of Knowledge Production and the Teaching of the Literatures of Canada, University of Alberta, 2001.

The authors conclude, however, that "le poème québécois fin de siècle et fin de millénaire se fait quotidien, personnel, émotif, cherchant à redéfinir l'homme, la femme et leurs rôles" (10). Pozier has also stated that the selection of poems was "surtout en vue de proposer autre chose que les poèmes présents dans la majorité des anthologies" (Email 2004-02-11).

Besides excluding the ten poets born before 1910, *Esprit de Corps* also excludes Saint-Denys-Garneau and Gatien Lapointe, the latter omission noted by Amy Barrett as "intriguing" due to the fact that Lapointe was the founder of Écrits des Forges (35). Ten translators worked on the poems in the anthology, including Jones himself. In the introduction, Jones writes that "the view of the poetry presented here is not that of the present editor but of Quebeckers themselves – more exactly, the writers and editors associated with Écrits des Forges" (*Esprit* 9). He assures the English reader that this is a collection that carries a certain degree of authenticity. Moreover, Jones further reassures the reader stating: "this collection is not that of the Bloc" (9) - referring to the Bloc Québécois separatist political party and recent official opposition in Ottawa. Jones does not refer to Hébert's poetry directly, but he does make reference to Glassco's anthology: "While one might argue that this anthology continues what John Glassco in his anthology, *The Poetry of French Canada in Translation* (1970), called a poetry of exile, it strikes me that there is yet a more positive kind of *esprit de corps* that emerges here. It is solidarity with ordinary living, and mortal, creatures" (11). Certainly, Jones's anthology does pick up where Glassco's left off to a certain extent and fills in the gaps elsewhere, with little anthologized poems of better-known authors, such as Hébert.

Daniel Sloate was brought to the project through his work with Guernica Editions.[32] Antonio D'Alfonso, editor-in-chief at Guernica, gave Jones a list of translators that included Sloate. Perhaps best-known for his translation of Rimbaud's *Illuminations*, Sloate has translated a number of French-Canadian poets for Guernica, and was nominated for the Governor-General's Award in 1997 for his translations of *Aknos and Other Poems* by Fulvio Caccia. Sloate translated a number of poets in the anthology other than Hébert, but had no choice in the selections, as it was a re-production of the earlier French anthology. The editors trusted D'Alphonso's judgment, and offered very little feedback in terms of the translations themselves, which appear in the anthology as Sloate submitted them. Sloate describes himself as taking a "structuralist" approach to translation, where his priorities included "reproducing form, sound, along with structural and visual elements." As he states elsewhere, Sloate believes that "a text is translatable insofar as the translator can produce a text of his own which may not be semantically identical with the original, but one which is *semantically equivalent to it*" ("Sharma" 313).[33] Sloate also did not concern himself with much of the "extra" material on the author, be it critical or otherwise: "it keeps the gossip, the twitching of literary curtains on one side, and the poem on another side, distinct although intimately linked to the other. But this is of no ultimate importance in terms of the poem itself" ("Literary" 165). Scott had previously insisted that Sloate read Hébert's *Le Tombeau des rois*, and as a result, Sloate "had been moved by her vision of things" but "of Anne Hébert the person, I knew nothing and was quite content with this ignorance" (165-66). He was aware however of other translations of Hébert's poetry, having written a very complete, if structuralist, review of Brown's translation of *Poems* for *Meta* (1976). Sloate quite clearly describes what he looks for in terms of a quality translation, and its application, which he calls "transcreating":

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[32] All information and comments, unless otherwise noted, were taken from an interview conducted by the author at Dr. Sloate's home in Montreal on February 19, 2003.

[33] Sloate was the name that Dr. Sloate used for his writing and translating, while Slote was used for his academic endeavors.

> "[T]ranscreating" the original [uses] as many of the original elements as possible, both internal and external, in...translation. Up to a point, this method is excellent, enabling the translator to detect *unsuspected* or obscure internal structures as well as the more obvious external ones. This is the "objective" side. But it is at this point, given the multiple choices offered to the translator, and taking into account the structures of the original poem, that a "subjective" intervention must occur: the intensity and quality of this intervention is dependant on the individual translator alone. (166)

Sloate concludes that "the translator must become or be a poet himself" (168). He saw Hébert as a "Poet", much like himself, of a specific place, but not as a voice of a people, a politics or a gender. For Sloate, Hébert transcended her place and gender to achieve Poetry.

The five poems included in both anthologies are "Homeland", "Apparition", "Scorched Earth", "Tenebrous Lesson" and "Absurd Sun", all from *Le jour n'a d'égal que la nuit*, although "Terre originelle" and "Apparition" are from the "Poèmes Anciens 1961-1980" section, and thus had appeared previously in an uncollected form. Alfred Poulin Jr's translation *Day Has No Equal But Night* had appeared previously, in 1994 through the American publisher BOA Editions, and Lola Lemire Tostevin's own version would be published by Anansi Press the same year as the anthology that contained Sloate's translations. Sloate's practice of "transcreating" is evident in his translation of "Apparition"; he recreates the repetition found in the line "Sa grandeur s'étire et s'étale" by "She grows and stretches and spreads", although he does modify somewhat the meaning in the English version. Sloate also will not hesitate to alternate word order or line order to maintain a sense of rhythm and sound, although he does sacrifice a typographical aspect of "Terre Brulé" in the English version:

> Leurs prunelles depuis longtemps soufflées
> pareilles à des bougies (*Oeuvre* 135)

becomes

> Their eyes like candles long since snuffed out. (*Esprit* 21)

In "Absurd Sun," Sloate adds visual elements that aren't present in the original:

> Sur sa tête superbe une couronne d'épines et de fiente (*Oeuvre* 161)

becomes

> around her splendid brow a crown of thorns
> and droppings. (*Esprit* 23)

Sloate does state that ultimately the translations are "interpretations [that] are creations in so far as they are unique perspectives upon a reality...which can be viewed from different points of reference" ("Literary" 166), which would fit with some of his decisions as a translator. More inexplicably, Sloate's translation of "Tenebrous Lessons" is missing the final verse; while the original French contains five verses, his only has four. Overall, however, Sloate's five translations are consistent with his own approach and produce some very poetic results, structurally speaking. Sloate has said that friends have observed that his own distinct poetic voice comes through in his translations and have become a part of the "Sloate oeuvre."

Reception of this anthology and the translations therein has been fairly limited. Amy Barrett points to Hébert's inclusion and her status as an "icon," but doesn't directly comment on the translations of her poems. Barrett has reservations about some of the translations (D.G. Jones in particular), but concludes "*Esprits* [sic] *de Corps* provides a much needed introduction for English readers to the literary solitude that is Québécois poetry" (35). Dean J. Irvine, in his review for *Canadian Literature*, calls the anthology "a metonym for the multiple sites and histories of material culture" (170). Focusing mostly on the cultural implications of the anthology, and the material meaning of the title, Irvine has little to say about the selection of poetry and the quality of the translations other than "*Esprit de Corps* shows that translation is possible for French Québec poetry, and that they have attempted to translate both spirit and letter of the poetry" (170). Another aspect that Irvine points to is the collaborative effort of the anthology, between English and French publishers, editors, and author/translators: "This emphasis upon collaboration, not upon individualism or separatism, forges a real sense of community in and around the anthology" (170). But this does not negate the perceived fact that Québécois poetry is "other," and Irvine spends his conclusion reminding the reader about the inherent tension between source and target texts, local and colonial forces; Québec, even through translation, is constantly recreated as the mysterious other.

For an English-Canadian reader who was paying attention, Hébert's importance and impact on the French-Canadian/Québécois poetic canon is clear. Her inclusion and discussion in French-Canadian anthologies in translation, even in the lone anthology that does not include any of her poems in translation, cements her status as an "icon." To repeat what Barbara Godard has said, "plus de traductions, plus de recensions critiques, plus de capital symbolique, plus de traductions" ("littérature en devenir" 496). One could take that one step further within this context and argue that the same theory would apply to the anthologization of an author. However, even a superficial survey of French anthologies of Québécois literature and poetry will show that Hébert's status is not simply the work of the English Canadian anthologists and critics.[34] She was, in both French and English, a part of the French-Canadian/Québécois accessible, curricular, and traditional canon. More problematic in a political sense is her inclusion within the larger Canadian canon.

Anne Hébert as Canadian

Occurring simultaneously to the project to introduce French-Canadian poetry to English Canada was the project to formulate a Canadian canon, mainly through anthologies. The majority of these anthologies, according to Lecker's bibliography (1997), focused exclusively on English Canadian works, excluding French-Canadian authors in either their original or translated form. A handful of anthologists resisted that trend and consciously chose to place French Canadian poets in translation in their anthologies of Canadian literature. This was in part due to the availability of quality translations of French Canadian poetry and literature, but also was a part of a larger federalist vision of Canada that contained both solitudes. These inclusions were not unproblematic; on one hand, the inclusion of French Canadian poets in anthologies to be used in *English* courses would prove to be against the linguistic divisions in academia, on the other, post-October Crisis politics made it politically delicate to place the Québécois authors in a larger, Canadian context. Those who did choose to include French Canadian authors were often in contact themselves with the translators and other anthologists and thus influenced by the work of their colleagues, their canons mutually reinforced each other. As Hébert was important to those working on French Canadian poets, so too was she to become important to those working on Canada.

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[34] Although out of date, *The Annotated Bibliography of Canada's Major Authors*, Volume 7 (1979) gives an indication of how often Hébert's poems have been included in French language anthologies, updated in 1987.

Poetry of Our Time, Louis Dudek, 1964

In 1964, Louis Dudek edited *Poetry of Our Time*, the first contemporary anthology of poetry that included both English-Canadian and French-Canadian poets (albeit in translation).[35] MacMillan published the anthology, which contained not only Canadian poets but also a selection of English-language Modernist poets. As stated earlier, Dudek was one of the founders of Contact Press as well as many other poetry journals, a professor of English at McGill, and a published poet and translator himself. He adopted Erza Pound's "MAKE IT NEW", which would influence both his writing and his editing endeavors (Davey 13). Dudek was also fiercely patriotic and looked to support young, avant-garde Canadian writers (16). Having grown up in Montreal's East End, he was familiar with French, and it was through his job at the Quebec Tourist Bureau that he

> came into direct contact with francophone writers, first with Maurice Hébert, who was Dudek's boss, a minor poet himself and father of Anne Hébert; and then with Yves Thérrault, who worked at the next desk. These early associations confirmed Dudek's

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[35] As mentioned previously, Scott's translation of "Ancestral Manor" appears in A.J.M. Smith's third edition of *Book of Canadian Poetry* through Gage Publishing in 1957, as well as R.E. Watters and Carl F. Klink's *Canadian Anthology* (1955 and 1966) as Scott poem. In the later anthology's Introduction, the editors state that "we have endeavored to indicate the growth and scope of Canadian literature in English" as well as admitting to "excluding the entire roster of our French-speaking authors" (xv), and therefor will not be considered here. Underneath the poem, it reads "From the French of Anne Hébert" (301), but remains nonetheless under Scott's name. It should also be noted that in 1960, Smith edited *The Oxford Book of Canadian Verse: In English and French*, published by Oxford University Press. Although Hébert is present in the collection, she appears in French, and therefore is not included in this study.

> interest in the writers of Quebec, an interest which would see him trying his hand at translating their work. (Gnarowski 13-14)

Dudek was instrumental in encouraging the publication of translations through Contact Press, and was heavily involved in Peter Miller's translations of Hébert's poetry, and the unpublished Gaston Miron manuscript (Contact Press Records).

The anthology project began in the early 1960s, with Dudek shopping the idea and an incomplete manuscript to a variety of publishers. From the very beginning, he intended to include English Canadian and Québécois poetry in the anthology. In a letter to G.B. Halpin of Prentice-Hall, Dudek writes: "The Canadian selections are incomplete, at this stage only about half-finished. They would have a separate short Introduction. We must bring in a few French-language poets in Canada (4 or 5), especially in view of the present political situation in Québec" (Dudek Fonds). One cannot imagine that there was much of an audience for an anthology of modern poetry that included a Canadian sampling. In a letter to MacMillan dated June 8, 1964, Dudek confides that one of the other publishing houses he approached responded, "Yes, of course, we do need this; but it is too early for it yet" (Dudek Fonds). He also revealed that both Prentice-Hall and McClelland and Stewart thought that the anthology was too much of a risk. But MacMillan took that risk and agreed to publish the anthology.

Dudek divides the anthology into two sections, "Twentieth-Century Poetry" and "Modern Canadian Poetry," complete with separate introductions for each section. In the introduction to "Modern Canadian Poetry," Dudek treats the development of the two literatures as separate and virtually unrelated, having been influenced by completely different traditions (British/American and French respectively). He notes that

> English-Canadian writing is clearly following the path into reality in trying to resolve this problem [the conflict between reality and idealism], French-Canadian poetry has followed the inward path of spirituality, subjectivity, and idealism, without being any less aware of the problems of reality that produces the poetry. (196)

Hébert herself is given a special place in his introduction as marking the "[beginning] of modern French-Canadian poetry" (197). Given that the Quiet Revolution was taking place at the time, it seems surprising that Dudek does not mention the socio-political context in which the French-Canadian poems were being created. He does conclude his introduction with: "Perhaps this freedom of mind and reliance on the opportunity of experience, without preconceptions, is the keynote of present poetry" (198). This would seem to already fit the criticism often leveled against English-Canadian criticism of French-Canadian literature: it is, for the most part, a-political, ignoring the context and political implications of the works.[36]

Included in the anthology are "Snow," "A Little Corpse" (both translated by Peter Miller) and "The Lean Girl" (translated by F.R. Scott) along with the original French version of each poem. The first poem is from *Poèmes* (1960), while the other two are from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953). Miller's translation of "Snow" was previously unpublished, while "A Little Corpse" appeared in *The Tomb of Kings* that same year. Dudek, who intend his anthology to be used in high schools, provided an introduction, both critical and biographical, to each of the authors, as well as "Study Aids" at the end of the collection for each of the individual poems appearing in the anthology. He introduces Hébert's poetry thus:

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[36] Barbara Godard and others point to this phenomenon in a special edition of *Voix et Images* (volume 72, 1999).

> Anne Hébert writes allusive poetry in the French-Symbolist tradition, a poetry in which explicit meaning is irrelevant and 'the essence of things' is communicated through the music and the connotation of words. But the human side of such poetry is nevertheless possible to grasp. Its quality of feeling is conveyed to the reader directly, even if the sense and the images remain vague and uncertain. (266)

This introduction is interesting as it associates Hébert to poetry, and not to any sort of socio-political force. But it is also a reflection of her power as a poet; much like the critics who commented on English anthologies of French-Canadian poetry, Hébert is raised to a different level in terms of her accessibility and image. The study aid further focuses the reader's attention on the surreal aspects of the poems, and the symbolic power of the language; emphasis is placed on the "dream" quality of "Snow" (355), the reader is encouraged to relate to "A Little Corpse" as a "fairy tale" (356) and the lover in "The Lean Girl" is equated with "the universe itself" (356).

Out of the 29 Canadian poets who are included in Dudek's anthology, only six are French (Hébert, Nelligan, Saint-Denys-Garneau, Alain Grandbois, Gilles Vigneault and Jean-Guy Pilon) and of that list, Hébert is the only woman. In a letter dated January 23, 1965, Dudek writes to Miller:

> I have an unusual request, or invitation, to make, I've just finished the modern poetry textbook which I was preparing for Macmillans – a collection of British, American, and some Canadian poets, with Introductions, biographical notes, and critical questions on all the poems – a very big job. This book contains a few of the principal French Canadian poets, five names in all. With the French poems, I have an English translation in each case, so that there will be no language obstacle to reading these poems in the high schools across Canada. Now –
>
> I selected the poems without first looking to see if these are included in Frank Scott's or in your books. A few are. But I find that some still have to be translated. There are three poems that I would be happy to see you do. It would bring more of your translations into the book and keep my name from recurring too

> often as translator (I will be translator for four of the poems as it is).
>
> Now then, the three poems that need to be done are Anne Hébert's poem "Neige" and Grandbois' two poems "Ce qui reste" and "L'Enfance oubliée".
>
> (One other from Anne Hébert, "Une Petite Morte", I see you have in your new MS [*The Tomb of Kings*]. I would like to use that)...
>
> Time, however, is very pressing. I have intended until just yesterday to do these translations myself, but my dear friend Aileen Collins suggested the wonderful idea that I should ask you to do it. How long would it take you to do three poems? Can it be done in a week or two? (This book is already in the typesetting stage, and these last bits of copy are holding back the whole job.) Let me know anyhow. (Contact Press Records)

Unlike Glassco and others, Dudek selected the poems to be included in the anthology first in the French, and then selected/created translations. Miller writes to Dudek that he was "plagued" by "Snow", consulted with Scott's translation, and found that the poem "for technical reasons rather a bastard." he also explains some of the choices he made in translating Hébert's poem in a letter to Dudek dates January 27, 1965. Showing a concern for form as well as accuracy, Miller distinguishes in his translation between "rêve" and "songe" as "dream" and "fancy," (Dudek 266-67) and tries to preserve Hébert's economy of language: "I would have much preferred to use 'becalmed white, swollen plumage' instead of whiteness, but this would have risked construction of white as an adjective agreeing with plumage, which would have sounded bad and would bugger the whole passage up" (Contact Press Records). Dudek responds in a susequent letter, stating: "The Anne Hébert poem sounds especially good in English" (Contact Press

Records). What remains unclear is why Dudek uses two of Miller's translations, and one of Scott's.[37]

Critical evaluation of this anthology is limited. An editorial from *The Ottawa Journal* (March 12, 1966) ignores the inclusion of Canadian poets completely in the review, instead lamenting the fact that "only 11 of the 36 poets representing 'the poetry of our time' were born in the 20th century" (6). *The Montreal Star* celebrates the fact "modern Canadian poets are also represented" and "that several French-Canadian poems have been included, in French, with English translations on the next page" (Francis 8). No mention, however, is made regarding the selection of French-Canadian authors included, even though a significant portion of the review is devoted to the choices of English-Canadian poets and poems. This is perhaps a reflection of the relative lack of knowledge regarding French-Canadian poets and poetry, but nonetheless, six out of 29 poets is a relatively small proportion. However, as the reviewer points out, the book is significant because of its accessible format, which would provide an introduction to Canadian poetry that perhaps would not have happened otherwise.

The inclusion of Hébert in this context is important, as a new and different set of readers would be exposed to her poetry, in this case, an entire generation of high school students. The poems that Dudek selected are no more or less representative of her body of poems to that point: the inclusion of "Snow" does mark the slight departure that takes place between *Le Tombeau des rois* and *Poèmes*, in terms of form, style and evolving subject matter. Dudek does choose to present the poems in reverse-chronological order: "Snow" (1960) comes before "A Little Corpse" and "The Lean Girl" (1953). They are all poems that have been seen elsewhere, if not perhaps in that exact form/translation. With the French included, and quality translations, the reader would have a good, albeit brief introduction, to Hébert's poetry.

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[37] Neither Dudek's nor Scott's archives provide any insight into Dudek's reasoning behind choosing Scott's translation over Miller's. In Scott's archives there is a letter from Macmillan dated February 26, 1965, asking for permission to use a number of his poems and translations, including "La fille maigre." There is no other mention in either of the archives of the selection.

While the critical reception of the anthology may have been limited to two brief newspaper mentions, MacMillan was rewarded commercially for the risk taken at the time in publishing the anthology. Dudek, upon the book's release, wrote 60 letters to curriculum supervisors and administrators across Canada, publicizing the new collection. The 2-page letters, all dated March 12, 1966, conclude with the following:

> Altogether, I hope that this text will be a joy for the teacher and the pupil to work with. Poetry is often reported as "the most difficult of all subjects to teach," possibly because the content and tone of the poems offered is foreign to the experience of modern youth. POETRY OF OUR TIME is designed to provide good poetry that does relate to modern life and that leads to mature thought and reflection on the issues of the modern world. I hope that you will consider it for adoption. (Dudek Fonds)

MacMillan also sent a number of copies to universities across the country, and received favorable feedback from almost all who replied to the publisher. All comments passed along to Dudek through MacMillan were kept anonymous, but in letters dated between May 10 and August 3 1966, Dudek heard comments from as many as a dozen teachers and academics from institutions such as Laurentian University, the University of Saskatchewan, and the Nova Scotia Teachers' College. Many of them applauded the inclusion of English and French-Canadian modern poetry, as well as the anthology's accessible and affordable format. The anthology crossed the desk of a member of the Faculty of Education at the University of British Colombia, who also happened to be "on a Department of Education English Committee" (Dudek Fonds). In a letter dated June 20, 1966, MacMillan passed along the following "anonymous" comments: "I think the Dudek anthology is the best of its kind in Canada...I recommended this volume in the strongest language possible to those charged with making decisions" (Dudek Fonds). As it turned out, the anthology was adopted in British Colombia in 1967 as a part of the Grade 12 curriculum, leading to the sale of approximately 35,000 copies. The book had already been reprinted once in November of 1966, having been adopted in a number of university introductory courses and high schools across the country.

Contrary to the publishers who had been unwilling to take a chance on his anthology, sales proved it was not "too early for it yet," but seemingly exactly the right time for Dudek's anthology: 1967 was Canada's centennial year, and the height of Canadian nationalism, as well as the height of the 60s generation that was looking for ways to "MAKE IT NEW." Dudek was an important and influential voice in Canadian letters, as an author, publisher, and now anthologist. Hébert is presented in a context that allows her to be compared not only to her English Canadian colleagues but also to the broader example of modern poetry. She is one of the few French Canadian poets to be included in this influential anthology, beginning a trend that would see her poems in virtually every English Canadian anthology that included French Canadian works in translation. She had been, to recall Peggy Kelly's observations, placed within the curricular canon; young readers in high schools and universities across the country now had an opportunity to read Hébert, and experience her poetry within the larger context of Canadian and Modern English poetry.

Canadian Writing Today, Mordecai Richler, 1970

The next anthology of Canadian literature to include Hébert's poetry in translation was *Canadian Writing Today*, edited by Mordecai Richler and published by Penguin Books as the twelfth book in a larger series featuring current writing from regions and countries around the world in 1970. According to William French:

> The Penguin people in England are well launched on a series of paperbacks designed to reveal the state of writing in various countries and continents...Before we blush with pride, it should be noted that earlier volumes in the series have dealt with writing in Australia, South Africa, Cuba, Poland and Czechoslovakia, among other countries, but at least we're ahead of Nepal and Iceland. ("Books and Bookmen" 1970, 18)

Hébert is represented by one poem, "Manor Life" (translated by F.R. Scott), taken from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953). Out of 46 authors in the anthology, there are 12 French-Canadian authors who appear in translation, including Pierre Elliot Trudeau. The importance of the anthology was not lost on those who were reviewing it: a major international publisher putting out the anthology at an affordable price and in accessible format for an already successful series of anthologies. The audience was assumed to be large, and international in scope.

For those very reasons, the anthology itself generated a great deal of controversy at home, from the choice of editor to the literature included and even the picture used on the front cover, which was a reprint of the painting *Imperial Wildcat* by Henry George Clyde, showing a scene from Excelsoir Field just outside of Edmonton. John Richmond, in his review for the *Montreal Star*, writes:

> Bleaker than the friendless widow of an improvident husband it evokes an aspect of Canada, devoid of beauty; a land polluted by the ugliness of a gimcrack technology, in an Eliot wasteland, rorshached with blobs of snow, with four human figures either on

> their way towards or their way from some grim task. Nothing but its glum, pointless ugliness has point. No prospect pleases. Here Kafka and Greene would have made the down-payment on their duplex. (72)

This is just the beginning of the criticism leveled at this anthology. The choice of Richler as the editor was questioned by a majority of the reviewers: at the time he was asked to edit the collection, Richler had been living in England for a considerable duration. And, as the book was to be a significant representation of Canadian writing, many had issues with the selections that Richler the ex-pat had included, particularly in light of the title: Canadian writing *today*. As the headlines of two of the reviews indicate, "Behind the times with Canadian writing" and "Canadian Writing Today is yesterday's news," reviewers generally shared the sentiment expressed by Barry Callaghan that "the result is a collection that is not only incomplete but it has the air of something that might have been interesting 10 years ago" ("Mordecai" 30). Richler's introduction also drew a good deal of metaphoric raised eyebrows. Not one missed the comment - "Put plainly, this is an anthology of the Canadian writing I like" (Richler 23) - that Richler concludes his introduction with, either. The introduction itself was widely criticized, and expressed by Phyllis Grosskurth in her review for *Saturday Night*: "[Richler's] ambivalent tone implies a struggle to find anything at all to say" (33). Stated more directly by David Helwig in his review for *Books in Canada*, Richler "is a mediocre critic, largely derivative and unthinking" (8).

Richler's treatment of French-Canadian writers in the introduction is interesting. He reminds the reader immediately in the second paragraph that

> Canada, remember, is a two-headed culture. The French is cocooned by language, the English isn't. We English-speaking, but not necessarily Anglo-Saxon, Canadians make up in touchiness

> what we lack in militancy. We have, mind you, reason to be touchy. From the beginning, Canada's two founding races, the English and the French, outdid each other in scornfully disinheriting us. A few arpents of snow, Volaire wrote contemptuously of Canada in *Candide*; and Dr Johnson described the dominion as a 'region of desolate sterility...a cold, uncomfortable, uninviting region from which nothing but furs and fish were to be had.' (15)

The rest of the introduction does not differentiate between English and French writers in Canada in any meaningful way, except to identify "new militant French-Canadian writers" Hubert Aquin, Jean-Guy Pilon, and Jacques Godbout. Hébert herself is not mentioned specifically in the introduction. It is interesting to note that Richler explains that he "sought out the younger writers, those who have made their mark within the last ten, fifteen, years" (23), but uses a poem by Hébert published in 1953 in *Le Tombeau des rois*, which first appears in 1951 in *Cité libre*. *Kamouraska* (1970) had been released and won the Governor-General's Award, but Hébert had certainly made her mark on Canadian letters at least five years earlier than Richler's cut-off date. While Richler points to some "notable exceptions" to the rule (Frye, Birney, Saint-Denys-Garneau, George Woodcock), he does not address the issue of Hébert's inclusion in the anthology.

In a letter dated August 3, 1967, Richler wrote to Jill Norman, editor of the then titled "New Writing Series" for Penguin Books, England about the upcoming Canadian edition. In it, Richler clearly outlines his intentions with the collection:

> I think we're agreed that anything going into the anthology should be up to international publication: literary excellence, not Canadian worthiness, will be the test. I will also try to make the anthology contemporary in tone, concentrating on writers who have made their reputations since 1950; both English and French Canadian. I will not be including the older generation of Canadian writers (Leacock, Maclennan [sic], Callaghan, Gabrielle Roy, etc). I will also avoid the set anthology pieces that have figured in so many centennial collections...

> I also hope to include at least two French Canadian stories and work by four French Canadian poets...certainly something by Marie Claire Blaise [sic] and Anne Hébert... (Richler Fonds)

Already, Richler has judged Hébert to be one of the handful of poets who fits his criteria of literary excellence and possessing a contemporary voice. It is possibly through his friendship with Scott that Richler was introduced to the poetry of Anne Hébert, although the connection is not explicitly clear. But her inclusion in the anthology was not guaranteed, nor was it uneventful. In a letter from Jill Levine in London, dated November 22, 1968, she states: "There are one or two pieces in the Anthology that I am not very happy about. They are mostly poems. I wonder whether if it may be possible to find other poems by the same people?" (Richler Fonds). One of the poems listed is "Manor Life." In the letter, Levine does not address why she feels the particular poem is unacceptable, although she does acquiesce to Richler's better judgment: "On the other hand, if they are poems that you like particularly, then we will keep them, since any selection like this is necessarily personal and subjective." In a subsequent letter, Richler does not address the issue of Hébert's poem, while it finally does appear in the final publication. He had to fight one last battle before Hébert's inclusion was assured: permission from the translator. Scott refused to accept the $15 per translation that Penguin was offering, as he was accustomed to receiving $25 per translation. As well, as described by Levine, in a letter to Richler dated July 3, 1969: "Scott...is obviously very niggled that none of his own poetry is included" (Richler Fonds). Scott expresses his discontent with the situation in his own letter to Penguin: "It is also apparent that you only want me to be represented by translation" and threatened to refuse use of any of his translations (Richler Fonds). Richler, who was living in Montreal at the time, obviously spoke to Scott, as the next letter from Levine, dated July 22, 1969, reads: "I am very relieved to hear you have mollified Frank Scott" (Richler Fonds). Implicit in these letters is Richler's commitment to the inclusion of Hébert within the anthology. When the volume was finally released, Hébert's name was included on the list of authors placed on promotional materials from Penguin for the book (Richler Fonds).

Most reviewers were content to simply compliment Richler for his inclusion of French-Canadian authors at all. Keith Fraser, in his review for *Canadian Literature*, states: "Richler's attempt to balance French and English writing is commendable" (90), and William French forgives Richler for other editorial crimes because "he includes a sample of current French-Canadian writing in translation" ("Books and Bookmen"1970, 18). Two reviews, by John Richmond and Peter Sypnowich respectively, question the choice that Richler makes to include an extract from Jacques Godbout's *Knife of the Table*, as Richler had previously panned the book in a review. Phyllis Grosskurth is not as kind to Richler's selection from French-Canada:

> The greatest disappointment, however, is the quality of the French-Canadian writing selected (in translation) for this anthology. With the exception of the Gothic imagination displayed by Marie-Claire Blais, much of the writing is self-indulgent, overwrought, and pretentious. There is here little indication of any literary renaissance in Quebec, of the claim made by other writers in the anthology that French Canadians are the only group in the country who possess what Neil Compton calls a "unique identity." (34)

While "Manor Life" perhaps does not express Hébert's gothic sensibility, connected more readily with *Kamouraska*, to call the poem self-indulgent simply because the speaker is mysteriously drawn, to quote the poem, "to look at oneself in the mirror day and night" (Richler 43) is to miss the point. In fact, it would seem that this poem mocks the tendency towards self-indulgence, through showing the manor in question as a type of prison, hiding dead bodies. In direct opposition, Barry Callaghan laments that only one of Hébert's poems is included in the collection: "It is simply absurd, if space is a problem...to present only one poem from such an excellent poet as Anne Hébert and one from Colombo" ("Mordecai" 30). Callaghan, it should be noted, is the only reviewer that directly addresses the inclusion of Anne Hébert in the anthology. Perhaps being included immediately after Trudeau's "The Sorry Tale of French-Canadian Nationalism" tended to distract the reader from her entry. The lone "international" review of the anthology, from the *Times Literary Supplement*, makes no mention of Hébert either and maintains much of the same tone and comments of the Canadian reviews: laments the poor quality of the introduction, questions the editorial choices and their motivation, and wishes there were more French Canadian writers included.

The wide reception of Richler's anthology stands in direct opposition to the limited reception of Dudek's anthology. But the impact was just as great, simply with a different audience. Richler was a popular and recognizable name not only in Canadian literature, but internationally as well. Penguin was a major publisher; its "Writing Today" series well known. While sales figures are unavailable, accessibility was the aim of this collection, as much as it was for Dudek's collection, but with a larger intended audience. Here was an anthology that was being talked about, a different type of exposure than Dudek's anthology, which was being taught. In this situation, rather than becoming part of the curricular canon, the anthology placed Hébert within the accessible canon. In either case, Hébert was being exposed to an entirely new audience, this time through infamy.

The Oxford Anthology of Canadian Literature, Weaver and Toye, 1973

In 1973 Oxford University Press published *The Oxford Anthology of Canadian Literature*, edited by Robert Weaver and William Toye. The anthology contains 80 authors, with fourteen of those from French-Canada. Three poems by Hébert are included: "The Little Towns" (translated by Glassco), "Manor Life" and "The Tomb of Kings" (translated by Scott). All three of the poems are from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953). Also included in the anthology is the poem "Portrait of Anne Hébert" by D.G. Jones. The anthology provides a preface by the editors, a brief bio-critical introduction to each poet, and a thematic index to the poems. The collection enjoyed another run in 1981 and again in 1983, while in 1982, Oxford University Press published *Teacher's Handbook to The Oxford Anthology of Canadian Literature*, written by Shirley I. Paustian as a companion to the latest editions. The anthology would also be named as a part of OUP Canada's Centennial Signature list of publications.[38] Robert Weaver worked for the CBC, producing, among other shows, *Anthology*, a show that featured Canadian writers. He also founded *The Tamarack Review*, and enlisted William Toye as an editor, who at the time was Editorial Director for OUP Canada.[39] Both editors of the anthology were heavily involved in Canadian letters, and although they were not authors themselves, played a large role in shaping what would come to be known as Canadian literature.

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[38] http://www.oup.com/ca/100years/signature/

[39] Biographical information on Weaver is taken from Toye's *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*, Second Edition, 1997. George Woodcock wrote the entry for Robert Weaver. Interestingly, Toye himself does not earn an entry in his own book, the subsequent *Oxford Concise Companion to Canadian Literature* (2001), nor does he appear in W.H. New's subsequent *Encyclopedia of Canadian Literature* (2002). The dust jacket on the *Oxford Companion* provides the majority of the biographical information on Toye included here.

In their relatively short Preface, the editors address the motivation for their anthology and the selections therein, which is "to give a general view of our writing from the early days to the present " (xiii). The editors admit that "the selections represent...the tastes of the two editors" and apologize for the omissions "particularly of some younger writers from Québec" due to space constraints (xiii). The organization of the anthology is alphabetical instead of chronological, and the thematic divisions are based in no small part on Margaret Atwood's "arresting study of Canadian literature...*Survival*" (xiii). The cross referencing is not limited to Hébert, and in fact the editors often chose entries based on their being able to trace their "original" influence (for example *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* by Atwood, and selections from Susanna Moodie herself). The editors conclude their preface with their hopes for the anthology and its influence: "It is our hope that *The Oxford Anthology of Canadian Literature*...will bring together even more Canadian readers and Canadian writers, offering both pleasure and discoveries and tantalizing some of you into making further investigations of your own" (xiv). The intended audience for this anthology was as broadly based as possible, and primarily Canadian, and its goal was to provide an introduction to Canadian authors and their writing. What kind of introduction to Hébert would the reader receive?

Aside from the basic biographical introduction listing her personal history and publications, the editors provide a basic critical introduction to her poems, focusing on their symbolic nature, as well as their relation to the rest of Quebec letters:

> Some of Anne Hébert's most memorable poems describe a retreat from reality into the solitude of a surrealistic interior world where purity and innocence are sought. It is a world of symbols – of childhood, captivity and death – that portray a subconscious landscape with disturbing clarity. The sorrow of isolation and the renunciation of the joys of life in favour of the anguish of solitude

> are important themes in Anne Hébert's poetry, as they are in the works of many French-Canadian poets, particularly that of Saint-Denys-Garneau. But Anne Hébert's writings trace a gradual liberation from this captivity (from all restrictive conditions of life). For example, in the closing lines of 'The Tomb of Kings' we read of the freeing of the captive poet after a confrontation with death. (205)

The editors also direct the reader to the exchange between Scott and Hébert regarding the translation of the poem. Within this introduction, we can see the editors universalizing her poems, offering the reader a more general and symbolic context by which to interpret them. The three poems that Weaver and Toye include reflect their view of Hébert's poetry: moving from oppression to freedom. The two first poems, "The Little Towns" and "Manor Life," full of the echoes of death and isolation, set the atmosphere for the climactic "The Tomb of Kings." Interestingly, in the thematic divisions offered for readers at the back of the book, Hébert's poems are listed under only two of the themes: Fantasy ("The Little Towns" and "The Tomb of Kings") and Prison and Prisoners ("Manor Life" and "The Tomb of Kings"). Her poems are absent from other applicable themes, such as Death, Violence, Victims, Escape, Quebec, Alienation or Childhood and Youth. D.G. Jones' "A Portrait of Anne Hébert" is mentioned at the end of the editors' introduction to Hébert, and again in the thematic sections, Portrait and Poems and Poets. Even more interesting is Hébert's total absence in the companion *Teacher's Handbook*; while there are French-Canadian authors listed by the *Handbook*, she is not one of them. Nonetheless, what Weaver and Toye seem to establish is Hébert's place within Canadian letters, how she fits within the larger context, as well as her influence and interrelations (Saint-Denys-Garneau, D.G. Jones, F.R. Scott).

The choice to place Hébert in their anthology was easy for the editors, as William Toye explained to me in a letter dated February 9, 2005: "As Bob Weaver and I had determined to make this anthology representative of both English- and French-Canadian writers, Anne Hébert's inclusion, as one of the leading French-Canadian poets, was mandatory." Toye himself chose the poems, and acknowledges his personal connection to the two translators, having published Glassco's *Poetry of French Canada in Translation*, and being a "close friend of Frank Scott's", as well as editor of *The Tamarack Review*, where Scott and Hébert's *Dialogue* was originally published. Toye explains, however, that the choice to use the two translators' versions was not based on personal bias: "These three fine poems appear in translations that are also fine. I say this objectively, quite apart from my friendship with the translators. I was very much aware of the dedication and sensitivity they applied to their translations." Toye goes on to explain his motivation for choosing particular poems: "I chose the poems because I thought that even though Hébert was a difficult poet, meaning in all three would not be entirely beyond the grasp of an intelligent high-school student." Quality and accessibility are thus the two criteria for selection, as well as the status of Hébert as a "leading" French-Canadian poet. The idea of universality is also reinforced with Toye's observation that high-school students would be able to appreciate and understand the poems and the poet.

Evidence relating to the response to the anthology is quite limited considering the intended scope and influence of the editors. The two reviews are also contradictory: Morris Wolfe largely praises the anthology in *Saturday Night*, while Chris Scott maligns it in *Books in Canada*. Scott criticizes the limited selection of French-Canadian writers in the anthology: “Add to this fact that French-Canadian literature is but sparsely represented, and then given only in translation, and the dominant impression is one of chaos” (5), and thus recommends alternative anthologies for classroom purposes. He also calls the anthology’s multiple cross-references a “mutual admiration society” and that “it is hard to suppress the feeling that all these persons...are in fact one and the same writer” (5). Wolfe, on the other hand, praises the choices that the editors make, both in form and content, in particular when comparing the collection to previous anthologies. He states that “Weaver and Toye have accepted two important premises: that an anthology of Canadian literature must include writing by both English and French-Canadian writers, and that literature is the best writing on any subject in whatever form” (40). He also praises the introductions for their “breezy and informative manner [that] strikes a right balance between the scholarly and the popular” (40). Neither reviewer makes direct mention of Hébert’s inclusion. One reason is that Wolfe, in his review, compares Weaver and Toye’s anthology to previous anthologies that included only English-Canadian writing. Scott seems to favor those anthologies that do not combine English and French-Canadian authors and their writing. Another perhaps more subtle reason is that neither of the reviewers is particularly familiar nor comfortable with French-Canadian writing and authors. This would seem to be a reflection of the more complex socio-political situation that had evolved since Richler’s anthology: the October Crisis (1970) and the swift rise of nationalist sentiment in Quebec. Scott’s disapproval of the works being included “only in translation” calls attention to the new linguistic tension between the two solitudes, as well as questions of colonialism and appropriation. But this superficial dismissal also points to the reviewers’ inability to address the French-

Canadian texts and their accompanying introductions with any sort of depth. Those who reviewed the anthologies of French-Canadian poetry in translation were often specialists in French-Canadian poetry themselves, while those who are reviewing English-Canadian anthologies are usually unilingual specialists in Canadian literature, which is a reflection of how Canadian literature was (and still is) typically taught in Canada: along linguistic lines. Nonetheless, the multiple reprints and *Teacher's Guide* would suggest an eager audience for the anthology, despite the limited critical exposure, further placing Hébert within the curricular canon.

***Literature in Canada*, Daymond and Monkman, 1978**

In 1978 Gage Educational Publishing Limited released the two-volume *Literature in Canada*, edited by University of Guelph English professors Douglas Daymond and Leslie Monkman. Volume Two contains entries by 84 authors, 15 of whom are French-Canadian. Hébert is represented by eight poems: six from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953) and two from *Poèmes* (1960): "The Tomb of Kings," "The Lean Girl," and "Snow" (translated by Scott); "The Water Fishermen" (translated by Miller); "The Little Towns" (translated by Glassco); "The Wooden Room," "Life in the Castle" and "Spring over the City" (translated by Brown). The poems appear not only in chronological order according to original publication date, but also in the order in which they appeared in translations: "The Tomb of Kings" thus becomes the first poem in the section. The section on Hébert begins with a basic biographical introduction that also lists a number of her publications and translations.

In their Preface, which is practically identical in both volumes, the editors address the purpose of their two-volume anthology:

> *Literature in Canada* traces the evolution of Canadian literature from the narratives of exploration of the sixteenth century to the poetry, fiction and drama of the nineteen-seventies. It is intended for the English-speaking reader and emphasizes the development of Canadian literature in English. However, translated texts from more than two dozen authors writing in French have been included and, within the limits of translation, these selections introduce some of the major writers of French Canada. (xi)

We learn two important pieces of information from this excerpt: that the editors saw Hébert as a "major" French-Canadian author and that they were conscious of the imperfect medium that translation represents. This may help to explain why the editors selected translations from such a wide variety of sources: poems by four different translators are chosen. Much like Glassco in his anthology, the editors here seem to want to ensure the highest quality translation is included as a representation of the original author's poem. This criterion remains a mystery, and at this point the editors certainly had no shortage of versions to choose from, as Brown's *Poems* had just been released in 1975, bringing the total number of Canadian translators of Hébert's poetry to eight. Some of the choices appear obvious, such as the inclusion of Scott's version of "The Tomb of Kings." Douglas and Monkman would seem to agree with Dudek's assessment that Scott's translation "The Lean Girl" was superior to any of the others available, but would seem to counter popular opinion by selecting Brown's "Life in a Castle" over the much-anthologized Scott version, "Manor Life." Brown was the only translator to that point who had tackled "Spring over the City," but most of the choices between versions came down to the choice between the two translators who had translated entire collections of Hébert's poetry: Miller or Brown for "The Water Fishermen" and "The Wooden Room;" with Glassco's version of "The Wooden Room" placed into the mix.

In an email dated March 13, 2005, Leslie Monkman addresses some of these questions. His first exposure to Québécois culture had been through his involvement at Expo 67, and then he had "spent a research term sitting in on the comparative Canadian literature classes of Doug Jones and Ron Sutherland at the Université de Sherbrooke in 1971 while simultaneously reading as widely as [he] could in Canadian poetry and fiction in French." Monkman had an advantage over Daymond in relation to the selection of French Canadian poetry, as "Doug just worked from the translations." The inclusion of Hébert in the anthology was a "no-brainer" as she was an important member of the Quebec canon, and "her reputation in English Canada too as a writer of both poetry and fiction," as a result of Scott's translations, as well as the recent appearance of *Kamouraska* (1970). The poems themselves were selected to "[reflect], where possible, different stages in a writer's career." For translations, however, "our judgment of the quality of available translations probably influenced some inclusions regardless of the French originals." Monkman goes on to address the unique situation that Hébert presented to the editors: "What I recall of the Hébert [sic] selections is the luxury of actually being able to choose from several different translations of a poem as well known as 'The Tomb of Kings.' Predictably, I recall our wishing that we could combine existing translations on various occasions." The resulting selections of Hébert's translations reflect "qualitative decisions influenced heavily by the principles of 'new criticism' in which we had been trained." Working from the previous books from Scott, Cogswell, Glassco, Miller, and Brown, Monkman and Daymond selected what they felt were the best possible translations of Hébert's poetry that also reflected her evolution as a poet up until that point in her career.

The poems chosen by the editors are standard for Hébert, and do provide a good introduction to her poetic vision, even if favoring her poems from the earlier 1950s over the ones that appear in *Poèmes* (1960). The ordering of the poems in the anthology, choosing to place the poems in chronological order according not only to original publication date but also in chronological order of the translations, is an interesting choice on the part of the editors. "The Tomb of Kings," which was the concluding poem of the collection is first, while the other poems appear in an order that does not reflect their original ordering in the original collection. The poems themselves strike a balance between the internal and external worlds that Hébert explores symbolically through her poetry. The inclusion of "The Lean Girl" as well as "The Water Fisherman" and "The Wooden Room" introduces the reader to Hébert's more "feminine" poems, while "Snow" and "Spring over the City" reflect the freer style of poetry Hébert adopted for "Mystère de la parole," with longer lines and shorter verses, coming closer to prose than her earlier collections. Up to this point in Hébert's career as a poet, the selection, despite the ordering, provides the reader with an excellent introduction to her poetic vision.

Surprisingly, there is little critical commentary about this collection; surprising if only because of its aim of providing educators with a useful anthology to include in their curriculums. Barbara Godard's brief review for *Quill and Quire* praises the two volumes' affordability and scope, as well as points to a few of the limitations, primarily in the area of French-Canadian literature: "While it is laudable for Quebec writers to be included, the sampling of their texts is too small to allow comparative studies" (31). Godard does not mention Hébert directly, nor does she discuss the quality of the translations included. Overall, she strongly recommends the two-volume set. Michael

Dixon, in his review for *Essays on Canadian Writing*, also praises the collections' accessibility and affordability, as well as including "some welcome additions to the standard fare" (250) that appears in other anthologies. His only real criticism is that the anthology feels "too typical" and that it may be the beginning of a trend of "producing anthologies of anthologies" (250). Dixon also reflects on the relatively limited audience for the anthology, students, and the collections' probable inability to transcend its target market into the larger sphere: "Is it simply a matter of inept commercial distribution? Or is it because the selections are too 'difficult'...Or is there something more obscurely distasteful to the 'average' palate in any 'academic' dish?" (251). Dixon does not address the inclusion of Hébert, nor the inclusion of French-Canadian authors in general in his review, which is, like Godard's, generally positive.

In comparing these two reviews, we see the linguistic divide between reviewers in addressing the issue of French-Canadian authors in the anthology: Godard, a translator herself, readily comments on the French-Canadian authors, if only generally, while Dixon, an English professor, ignores the French-Canadian authors in his review. Nonetheless, the previous two anthologies, in terms of their scope and intended audience, play a large role in promoting not only French-Canadian poetry to English Canada, but Hébert specifically to a wider English-speaking audience. Even if the selection of French-Canadian poets is limited in both anthologies, Hébert makes the cut, so to speak: selected by those institutions (Gage, Oxford UP, the University) and by those people of influence within those institutions (Toye as an editor and Daymond and Monkman as professors), she becomes further imbedded in the curricular canon.

***The Poets of Canada*, Colombo, 1978**

Hurtig Publishers put out their own anthology in 1978, John Robert Colombo's *The Poets of Canada*. Each of the more than 200 poets included is represented by one poem; Hébert's contribution is "Thin Girl," translated by Brown, and taken from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953). There are 25 poets from the French Canadian tradition found in the anthology as well as 12 poems from the "unofficial languages" of Canada: "Inuktituut (Inuit), Algonkian (Indian), Estonian, German, Hungarian, Icelandic, Japanese, Lithuanian, Polish, Spanish, Ukrainian, and Yiddish" (13). The poems once again appear according to the date of publication. Colombo at this point in his career was well known as a poet and as an anthologist: he had 12 anthologies of various volumes of Canadiana when *Poets* was released. Called a "Master Gatherer" by Robin Skelton (qtd. in Barbour "John Robert Colombo" 1997, 226), Colombo is "a shrewd market analyst and salesman [who] has recognized from the first that his major product is not this book or that book but rather John Robert Colombo, the maker of all kinds of books" (Barbour "John Robert Colombo" 1986, 143). *The Poets of Canada* would be no exception to his aim of accessibility and commercial availability, and is an important part of Colombo's anthologizing project.

Colombo writes in his preface that his collection "offers the reader a poetic panorama rather than an in-depth view of its subjects" (13), and that it represents "the first historical anthology in which the reader can enjoy, in a single language, the works of poets who write in the two official languages, English and French (13). His criteria for selecting the poems were not limited to "[l]iterary excellence," choosing to take "into account historical, cultural, and social considerations" (13). The poets were selected based on "[having] something to say to us today and who say it with a marked individuality of style" (14), while the representative poem from each poet was based on four criteria:

> First, the poem would have to be strong and powerful...Second, the poem selected would have to be characteristic of the poet or representative of the author's work...Third, as much modern poetry is considered "obscure" or "difficult," the poem selected should be (I felt) accessible to the average reader on first reading...Fourth... the poems selected should not be too long. (14)

Given these criteria, one could wonder why "Lean Girl" was selected, rather than the better-known (and arguably more accessible) poem "The Tomb of Kings;" perhaps it was judged too long for inclusion in the anthology. In terms of representation, "Lean Girl" certainly is a "strong and powerful" poem and would seem to represent the more female-centric nature of Hébert's poetic works. Colombo himself, in an email, confirms that "Lean Girl," "is characteristic of the poet's attitude. As well, it could be appreciated upon a single reading and understood without documentation" (email 2005-03-17). But for Colombo, there was never any doubt as to Hébert's inclusion in the anthology: "If an editor wishes to compile an anthology of poetry that is representative, the editor has to represent those people who are respected at the time. Anne Hébert was recognized to be an important writer (and is so today increasingly)" (email 2005-03-17).

In terms of Québécois poetry, Colombo says the following:

> Representation given to the poetry written in French is not as extensive as that given to the poetry written in English. No single volume could do justice to the two poetries, which have grown up side by side, sometimes intertwined, sometimes not. At the same time, the average English reader is not as interested in the lesser-known French poets as he is in lesser-known poets who write in his own language, for the former fall outside his experience as the latter do not. Besides, the majority of the poets of French expression regard themselves as *Québécois* rather than as

> *Canadiens*--as poets of Quebec rather than as poets of Canada. So when it came to choosing the Quebec poets, I applied one or more of these criteria: the poets should be of historical interest; his work should represent one of the number of important tendencies in Quebec poetry; or the poet should press some special claim (like prior translation) on the attention of the English reader. (15)

Colombo's contact with the poets and poetry from French Canada dates as far back as the 1960s, when he co-edited *Poésie/Poetry 64* with Jacques Godbout, co-published in 1963 by Éditions de Jour in Montreal and Ryerson Press in Toronto. Godbout, according to Patricia Godbout, "apprend l'anglais dans la rue, dans le quartier Côtes-des-Neiges où il grandit" (213). Colombo's translations of Godbout's poetry had appeared in Glassco's *Poetry of French Canada in Translation* in 1970, and he seemed to know French well, allowing, one would assume, the two editors to communicate effectively, as well as affording Colombo the opportunity to judge the French poems in their original language and in translation. This collaboration between Godbout and Colombo also provided excellent "exposure" for Colombo in terms of contemporary Québécois poets and poetry, although none of the six Québécois poets who are featured in *Poésie/Poetry 64* are included in *The Poets of Canada*. Colombo had himself also translated poetry in the past, from French, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Algonkian, Inuktituuk, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, and Spanish. *Selected Translations* (1982) was published as a companion piece to *Selected Poems*, and contains 65 poems in translation by Colombo. In a note at the beginning of the collection, Colombo thanks his collaborators, or co-translators, specifically Alexander L. Amprimoz, Irène Currie, John Glassco and Ben Shek for the translations from the French (viii).

In 1970, Colombo edited *How Do I Love Thee? Sixty Poets of Canada (and Quebec) Select and Introduce Their Favourite Poems from Their Own Work*. There are ten Quebec poets included in this particular anthology, while six Quebec poets declined his invitation to submit their favorite poems: Jacques Brault, Gérald Godin, Anne Hébert, Gilles Hénault, Gaston Miron and Yves Préfontaine (xi). While Colombo does not address the reasons for their refusal to be included in the project, the list does illustrate that Colombo had a good idea as to who was important in terms of Québécois poetry at the time, as well as a familiarity with Hébert's work. The poems and commentaries by each of the Québécois poets appears in both French and English: "The translations are partly my work, partly that of Ben Shek...Each French poet checked his or her poem in English, and most of them made important revisions" (xv). Colombo also explains his choice to place "of Canada (and Quebec)" in the title of the anthology:

> This circumlocution may sound too clever by half, but I wanted younger Quebec poets to feel at home in the anthology. One of the charges a revolutionary-minded *Parti Pris* poet brought against the bilingual anthology *Poetry 64/Poésie 64*, which Jacques Godbout and I edited, was that it was "a political act" designed to keep the French in a *numerus clausus* relation to the English. So I agreed in advance to identify all the French poets at Quebeckers rather than as French Canadians. Separatism aside, the poets writing in French in this anthology obviously feel more like Quebeckers living in North America than they do Canadians living in Canada. They are part of "French North America" rather than "British North America" (*i.e.* Canada). The poetries of Canada may have developed side by side, sometimes even in the same city, but after a hundred years they have precious little in common. (xiv-xv)

While the two prefaces are similar in terms of how the Québécois poetry in contextualized, Colombo titled the second anthology studied here *Poets of Canada* and not *Poets of Canada (and Quebec)*. Nevertheless, Glassco had an active interest in the French poets of Quebec, and seemed to be well placed to select the poets to represent Quebec in his subsequent anthologies.

Colombo would have had three different versions to choose from for a translation of "La fille maigre": Scott's, Miller's and Brown's. Scott's and Miller's translations had been used elsewhere in the anthology (translations of Pierre Trottier and Marc Lescarbot from Scott and of Alain Grandbois from Miller). Colombo would at least have been familiar with Scott's translation, as he had consulted and used translations from Glassco's *Poetry of French Canada in Translation*, as well as Scott's *Poems of French Canada*. Colombo also points the reader to Miller's collection, *The Tomb of Kings*, in the introduction to Hébert (143). In more recent correspondence, Colombo writes that there was "really no choice, at least no choice that I was aware" (email 2005-03-17). He would seem to contradict his own statement further down when he writes that "It is probably true that she [Hébert] still awaits her principal translator, though F.R. Scott wrote wonderful versions in English." Brown's translation was selected by Colombo as follows: "I read the English text, compared it with the French original, found it to be faithful and poetic and proceeded" (email). He begins the introduction in the anthology on Hébert with a quote from Louis Dudek (no source mentioned) describing the nature of her poetry: "Highly personal, deeply spiritual, an authentic awareness of the borderline between the realms of matter and spirit" (143), and follows with a simple biographical/bibliographical introduction to her works in English translation.

Criticism of this anthology was also limited. The one review, contained in the same review as that of Monkman and Desmond's *Literature in Canada*, in *Essays on Canadian Writing*, concludes: "Colombo's anthology has merit" (Dixon 250). There is no mention of individual Québécois authors (nor any individual authors included from minority languages) or of the quality of translation beyond this: "Colombo has put together two hundred formulaic entries, arranged chronologically...of two hundred Canadians (or near-Canadians) who have written poems in the past three-and-a-bit centuries" (249). This would seem to contradict Colombo's claim that his anthology was the first of its kind to include poets and poems from the "near-Canadian" languages. Dixon does offer praise for the anthology, stating: "Whatever its shortcomings as a paradigm of Canada's poetic culture, Colombo's miscellany has value as a primer in the poetic spirit itself" (250). Colombo, as master-gatherer, gathered Hébert into his collection of Canadiana, receiving approval from one of the institution's (the anthology) most prolific figures. While less visible perhaps than previous anthologies in terms of a critical audience, a Colombo anthology was an "event," an event that provided another opportunity for Hébert to become a part of the accessible canon.

***To Say the Least*, P.K Page, 1979**

One year later, in 1979, P.K. Page edited the poetry anthology *To Say the Least: Canadian Poets from A to Z*, published by Press Procépic. Page is best known as a poet in her own right, having won the Governor-General's Award in 1954 for *The Metal and the Flower*. She arrived in Montreal in 1941, and immediately became involved in the Montreal Movement, which included Scott, with whom she worked with at the literary magazine, *Preview*. As well, she first appears outside of periodicals as a poet in *Unit of Five* (1942), where she shares the pages with, among others, Dudek and Souster. By the time this anthology was published, Page was now considered a West Coast poet, having lived in Victoria for a significant amount of time.[40] *To Say the Least* was published in memoriam of Jerry Lampert, "writer and friend of writers" (Page 5), former executive director of the League of Canadian Poets. All proceeds from the book went into a Gerald Lampert Memorial Fund, and those poets whose works appear in the anthology waived their permission fees. There are 102 poets featured in the anthology and only seven are Québécois.

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[40] All biographical information taken from George Woodcock and Rosemary Sullivan's entry in *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*, second edition, 1997.

Hébert is represented by "Snow" translated by Scott. Every poem featured in the collection is "short": the longest poem in the collection is 13 lines. "Snow" is seven lines long in Scott's translation, taken from *Poems of French Canada*, which is slightly different (and one line shorter) than the version in *St-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert*.[41] Regardless, "Neige" fits the criteria that Page set forward that the poem must be short, but also that it "must be larger than its mass" rendering it "memorable" (Page 7). Page also had three different translations to choose from at the time (Scott, Cogswell and Brown), though it is not terribly surprising that she selected Scott's, given their long friendship.[42] In a typed letter, dated March 1, 1979, Page adds Hébert's poem by hand to be included in the list of Scott's translations she wanted to use, "Communion" by Ouelette, "Greener than Nature" by Giguère and "Snow" by Hébert (Page Fonds)[43]. In the Acknowledgements section at the end of the anthology, Page credits the wrong source for the version of "Snow" that had appeared: *St-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert* instead of *Poems of French Canada*. Page seemed to always have every intention of including Hébert in the anthology; in a draft letter to William Toye dated May 13, 1976, she explains the inspiration for the manuscript: "In the course of working on the collection I discovered that the poets very nearly made an alphabet. There was Atwood and Acron and Bissett and Bowering and Cohen and Dudek and Everson and Finch and Gustafson and Hebert [sic] etc. etc." (Page Fonds). Hébert is included in the initial, incomplete manuscript, and in the original list of poets that Page outlines - she was the only French-Canadian.

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[41] The original French version is ten lines long, although each verse is a sentence, and is often broken at the end of the page, and at different points; there doesn't even seem to be any consistency in how the original French version is published. A handwritten version found online (http://www.editionsneige.com/neige.html) is different from the version found in *Oeuvre poétique: 1950-1990.*

[42] In an email to the author, Page writes that Scott's translation was the only one of which she was aware (email 2005-03-30).

[43] It may be interesting to note that the mysterious "XXX" poem by X, which represents that letter in the anthology, seems to have been originally written by Scott and appeared in the *McGill Fortnightly Review* in 1926. The letter from Page to Scott dated March 1 1979 reveals the following: "I also want – to fill my alphabetical index – the poem XXX by X..." (Page Fonds). The Acknowledgements at the end of the anthology provide the provenance of the poem (Page 124).

Page presents the authors not in alphabetical order, as her title may suggest, nor in chronological order. Page describes her editorial choices in ordering the poems:

> In putting the book together I tried as a sculptor does to sense the form hidden in his material and, in bringing it to light, give significant shape to the whole. Within that shape I have tried too, to create an order in which each poem is linked to its immediate neighbours in such a way as to augment them. This linkage, sometimes logical, sometimes not, is never random. (7)

Hébert's poem is preceded by "Munchausen in Alberta" by Elizabeth Brewster and "Lake Harvest" by Raymond Knister, and is followed by "Canada in Winter" by Jill Hoffman and "Frost" by George Johnston. "Lake Harvest" is the only poem not dealing with winter or the cold, but does deal with natural landscape. Fitting Hébert into a larger narrative, as it relates to other authors is important to Page, as she is looking to create a cohesive narrative. Page would seem to have succeeded.

The anthology was fairly widely reviewed, and very warmly received. Two reviews appeared in the *Vancouver Sun*, with Eleanor Wachtel calling the collection "a fine little book with a noble purpose" (38L), and Christopher Dafoe pointing to the anthology as an excellent remedy for the current disinterest in Canadian poetry in Canada: "I recommend it especially to those who have already decided that Canadian poetry is not worth bothering about. Some may be inclined to think again" (D7). William French, for the *Globe and Mail*, writes: "the collection as a whole is stimulating, provocative and generally successful" ("Books and Bookmen" 1979, 13). *Quill and Quire* calls the anthology "a coffer of gems, a book worth reading, worth keeping, and – so wide is its appeal – even worth giving to those who don't usually enjoy a book of poems" (Aubert 63). Finally, Christopher Levenson, in *CV/II*, praises it for being a "very varied and satisfying collection" (25). None of the reviewers addresses Anne Hébert directly, nor the inclusion of Québécois poets in translation in general, although Wachtel wonders if poets such as Joseph Quesnel would have been included if not for the requirement to account for all of the letters of the alphabet (38L).

While the publishing house that agreed to publish *To Say The Least* was smaller than some of the presses that were putting out anthologies (Oxford, Gage, Macmillan), Page nonetheless represents a major name in Canadian letters, marking another figure for whom Hébert was a poet of major importance and influence. Her choice of putting Hébert alongside English authors who were dealing with similar subject matter and poetic vision works to include Hébert in a larger Canadian context. The introduction the reader would receive to Hébert would be a-historical and apolitical, instead inviting readers to focus on her poetic images within a larger context of Canadian poetry. The reception shows that the anthology had a more popular appeal, placing Hébert yet again into the accessible canon.

Poems of a Snow-Eyed Country, Woollatt and Souster, 1980

In 1980, Academic Press Canada published *Poems of a Snow-Eyed Country*, edited by Richard Woollatt and Raymond Souster. The anthology was designed to be used an "introduction to the poetry of Canada's geographic regions" and "a stepping stone to a rich and varied literary world" (8) for a high school audience. The poems are grouped geographically, and the editors provide thematic groupings in an appendix, as well as an introduction to each section and "Springboards and Bridges" at the end of each section, "designed to help you move through and beyond the poems in the book...by indicating to you different ways of looking at the poems in question" (8). The editors pull together 78 different poets (including Anonymous), with eight from the French in translation, three "French Canadian Songs in French" and three poems translated from other languages (German, Icelandic and "Eskimo") (172). Hébert is represented by "The Little Towns," from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953), translated by Glassco, in the section "La Belle Province."

Woollatt was a poet and a high school teacher in the Toronto area. Souster was a poet, editor, publisher, and influential member of the Modernist poetry movement of the 1950s and early 1960s. He founded Contact Press with Louis Dudek and Irving Layton, and created a number of small, literary magazines. After Contact Press dissolved in 1967, according to Frank Davey: "Souster [spent] much time...editing school anthologies – 'missionary work,' as he described it to Cid Corman – to replace the 'pretty hopeless stuff' which 'the kids have to read by and large'" (35). Woollatt became a sort of partner in the project: together they edited at least four anthologies specifically for high school (Martindale 17). This collaboration would reflect Souster's longtime efforts to create literary relationships: at the beginning of his career at the end of the Second World War, the poetry was being created almost exclusively in Montreal, leaving Souster, who lived in Toronto and worked at a bank, feeling "isolated" (Davey 8). This isolation spurred him to try to discover and disseminate poetry as widely as possible, thus his impetus for continuing to introduce young readers to the poetry of Canada. At the same time as Souster was engaging in the activities of writing and publishing in English during the 1950s, he was also being introduced to poems and poetry written in French, as well as the art of translation: through Cid Coreman, Souster began to read contemporary French poets from France, and through Gael Turnbull, the poets from Quebec (Godbout 84-104).[44] In a number of letters, Souster discusses his belief that "English-Canadians should make a very determined effort to get to know the work of their fellow French-Canadian poets" (qtd. in Godbout 103), while lamenting his own lack of bilingual capabilities. Much like Scott and Dudek, Souster was attracted to the poems of French Canada because they provided English Canada with elements that their own poetry was lacking: "I begin to feel very strongly that when we can somehow bring the French and English Canadian poets together in some way we're due for some large advances...that great lyrical quality we have somehow missed and which Hébert [sic] has to a great degree" (qtd. in Godbout 95). In this regard, Souster shared the sentiment of Louis Dudek of "MAKING IT NEW", and saw French-Canadian poetry as a means of making

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[44] Patricia Godbout goes into great detail over 20 pages tracing the relationship between Turnbull, Souster and Corman. Reading the chapter in Frank Davey's book *Louis Dudek and Raymond Souster*, "Editors and Publishers" alongside Godbout's account of those same years, one can get a complete picture of the different influences that affected Souster in terms of his views on poetry, Canadian poetry, editing and publishing.

English-Canadian poetry new. He also recognized that Hébert was one of those distinct voices that was indeed making it new.

In their proposal document, the editors describe the anthology's uniqueness in two ways: accessibility and organization. As an undated manuscript describes:

> We know of no Canadian anthology of verse presently available that the average reader can understand and enjoy because it relates to him both as a Canadian and to the everyday life about him. Likewise there is no comprehensive anthology of Canadian verse whose contents would appeal to the average teen-ager attending high school...It is the only anthology of Canadian verse based on a regional concept, thus giving it added purpose and close unity. (Souster Fonds)

McGraw-Hill Ryerson was the first publishing house to receive the manuscript for the anthology. In a letter dated July 3, 1974, Jane Stinson gives some friendly editorial advice to the editors: "you are overlooking the fact that that there is still ample need to 'teach' both teachers and students about the forces that help to shape Canadian poetry as well as poetry in general" (Souster Fonds), leading Souster and Woolatt to include a new section entitled "Preludes and Definitions." This change to the manuscript would not be enough to ensure publication with McGraw-Hill: a later letter, dated October 9, 1974, informs the editors that "we are of the opinion that the school market has almost reached the saturation point in regard to poetry anthologies...we feel that we should not take any more of your time or ours in consideration of your manuscript" (Souster Fonds). No less than four other publishing houses would reject the manuscript, citing cost as an overriding factor, before Academic Press accepted the project.

Despite Souster's extensive knowledge of French-Canadian poetry, the editors nonetheless consulted with a fellow expert and translator, David M. Elder. In a letter to McGraw-Hill Ryerson dated September 16, 1974, Woolatt writes: "I neglected to mention while talking to you that we have a special consultant for the Quebec section, Mr. Dave Elder...Besides translating several of the poems he has assisted us in selecting and arranging the material. When we come to prepare study notes for the section we will again be calling on his expertise" (Souster Archive). Elder worked with Woolatt at Burlington Central High School, and was an honorary member of the Ontario Modern Languages Teachers Association. Elder was awarded the Order of Canada for his work related to education, and, according to his daughter and fellow translator Jo-Anne Elder, "he not only provided translations, but editing, glossaries, examination questions, etc. to make anthologies useable in actual classroom situations" (e-mail 2005-09-04). There are a number of his translations in the Souster Fonds relating to *Poems of a Snow-Eyed Country*, including a translation of Hébert's poem "Night." Unfortunately, none of Elder's translations would be included in the final edition of the anthology. Initially, there would seem to have been four different poems by Hébert under consideration for inclusion in the anthology: "Night" translated by Elder, "The Lean Girl" translated by Scott, and "Under the Rain" and "The Little Towns" translated by Glassco. In the end, only "The Little Towns" was included in the anthology. It is also unclear how much of an influence Elder had on the formation of the section dealing with Quebec, although it is obvious that it was enough of an impact to warrant a mention by the editors when introducing the manuscript to publishers.

In the anthology, Hébert is introduced in the following way: "Among the leading poets of this century, the names of Anne Hébert...and Saint-Denys Garneau...are perhaps the most frequently mentioned...They express very sharply much of the stifling, ancestor worshipping attitudes still prevalent among their generation" (46). Her poem "The Little

Towns" is paired with her cousin's "Pines Against the Light" in the section "La Belle Province." In closing the section with "Springboards and Bridges," the editors say the following about Hébert's poems and over-all *oeuvre*:

> Reading a poem of Anne Hébert's such as "The Little Towns" is similar to understanding the one by Margaret Atwood ["The Immigrants"]: the real meaning is usually below the surface and most often found in symbols. One of the towns that Hébert could have in mind is her birthplace...Sainte-Catherine-de-Fossambault, north of Quebec City...Hébert is also a novelist; her gothic *Kamouraska* was brilliantly filmed by Claude Jutra and stars Geneviève Bujold. (72-3)

The editors provide high school students with a simple and common introduction to her poems: symbolism and biography. They also connect Hébert to a relatively well-known English-Canadian author, Atwood, as well as mention that she has a movie out based on one of her novels. These attempts to encourage the teenage reader to keep reading (or at least thinking about) Hébert are obvious, and one would think quite effective. There is more relative space used by the editors to promote *Kamouraska* the movie, than her novel, or even the fact that she is novelist; crass, perhaps, but keeping with their intended audience.

There is virtually no critical reception of any kind for this anthology. One would imagine that this relative indifference towards the anthology was because of its intended audience (high school students) and the still relatively unknown quality of both the editors (Bruce Whiteman, in his biographical note on Souster, written in 1983, observes that "For a major poet and a man whose influence has been wide and sustained, Souster has attracted a surprisingly small amount of critical attention" [239]). The anthologies geared towards a university audience (the Oxford or *Literature in Canada*) received more attention due to other academics reviewing the anthologies for use in their own courses.

Compare the reception of Page's anthology, edited by a celebrated poet or Richler's own anthology, by a controversial figure in Canadian letters and the reception for Woollatt and Souster's, edited by two lesser known figures in Canadian literature, published by a specialty press. One may also imagine that the subject matter (Canadian poetry) was not as interesting or not seen to be as interesting: Dudek's anthology, which was geared towards the same high school audience was much more widely received; he also included modern American poetry within the anthology, and most of the reviewers focused on that part of the anthology, and not the inclusion of Canadian modern poetry. This indifference towards Canadian poetry was noted by those reviewing Page's anthology, and accurately predicts the demise or at least the decline of the poetry anthology in Canada. After Barry Callaghan's anthology, which will be dealt with below, there is a 15-year lag before another anthology appears that includes Hébert in translation. We can observe this same gap in the publication of French-Canadian/Québécois anthologies in translation. In part, it is due to the complex language and identity politics that have played out in the country during those 15-20 years. But they also reflect the general disinterest in Canadian poetry in English from either language group. Regardless, Hébert receives another entry into the academic canon.

***Lords of Winter and Love*, Barry Callaghan, 1983**

Barry Callaghan published through his own publishing house, Exile Editions, *Lords of Winter and Love: A Book of Canadian Love Poems in English and French* in 1983. Fifty-seven authors are included in the anthology, with 14 from Quebec, whose poems are presented in French and English translation. Hébert has two poems in the anthology, "The Lean Girl" and "There is Certainly Someone," both translated by Scott.

Barry Callaghan is the son of Morley Callaghan, and has been an important figure in the Toronto and Canadian literary scene for over 40 years. In 1965, Callaghan became an instructor at Atkinson College, York University, teaching contemporary literature. From 1966 to 1971, he was the literary editor of the book-review section of the old Toronto Telegram. He also worked for the CBC, as a host and producer, specializing in documentaries. In 1972, he founded *Exile*, a literary quarterly, and then in 1976, began Exile Editions.[45] Callaghan wanted to battle what he understood to be the current trends in Canadian literary nationalism: "A real writer wants to see himself in relation to writers around the world, he doesn't want to be a hot-house flower, for Christ's sake!" ("Impassioned Exile" n.p.). *Exile* published Canadian writers alongside those who Callaghan considered to the best writers from around the world. Callaghan was dedicated to literary excellence, regardless of where it was produced: "If you wrote a book of poetry, well, Lizzie Borden might give you 40 whacks. The fact that you came from Oshawa didn't matter" ("Impassioned Exile" n.p.). This is not to say that Callaghan had no interest in Canadian letters; the sub-title of the interview with *Books in Canada* is "If we fail to write in the language of here, there will be no literature of this place." It would seem to be in this spirit, the language of here, that Callaghan conceived *Lords of Winter and Love*.

The Introduction that Callaghan writes for the anthology provides little background as to the selection of the contents. This is not terribly surprising, however, as Callaghan had little use for introductions, especially of the editorial kind: "It seemed to me that the imaginative writer was being supplanted by scholars or critics, and a whole body of information, and people were more interested in borrowed information than they were in perceiving things with their own eyes and ears" ("Impassioned Exile" n.p.). The introduction opens with the quote: "We endure the winter, but not in discontent" (ix). Freely quoting from poems that appear in the collection, Callaghan creates a thesis about the language that is used by the poets from Canada to describe the condition of here:

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[45] The biographical information has been taken from David O'Rourke's entry to the *Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* (1997) and an interview with *Books in Canada*, 22.5 (1993).

> We are lovers whether we like it or not: ironic, with one foot in the grave, incubating in the gloom, but with visions of planets rotating around a room; or sardonic, believing God loves us like earthworms love wood and catfish love the cut-glass glory of clear water...As lovers, crucified and reborn in our sacks of flesh, we pursue the sacred, are transformed in ancient gardens, in silent rooms, ancestral tombs...Grace and immortality. (ix)

One is struck by the echoes of Hébert's images in this passage (ancient gardens, silent rooms, ancestral tombs). Callaghan liberally uses French expressions in his introduction ("c'est la fin, c'est la fenaison;" "les petits morts" another allusion to Hébert), as further indication that he is trying to write in the language of here, reflecting the influence of both literatures on the language. He viewed Canadian literature as a sum of its two main parts: "[T]here are some very remarkable writers working here now, particularly if you take the French and the English cultures together, as I do" ("Impassioned Exile" n.p.). His interest in the French writers of Quebec was prompted by Marie-Claire Blais: "If you look at the first issues of *Exile*, you will see that the writers in them were important to me at that time. In the first issue there was Marie-Claire Blais, who lured me into Quebec" ("Impassioned Exile" n.p.). The language of here, for Callaghan, included French, and he would seem to have included those French poets who measured up to a literary standard and participated in the formation of the language of here. This is also reflected in his choice to include both the French original and English translation; nowhere perhaps is the impact on the other culture more evident than through the translation, which is often done by a fellow poet.

The two Hébert poems included in the anthology are both from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1957), and the translations are from Scott's *St-Denys Garneau & Anne Hébert* (1962).[46] The choice of poems themselves is interesting, given the over-all theme of the book: winter and love. Both "The Lean Girl" and "There is Certainly Someone" deal with the relationships between a man and a woman, although more so with the oppressive and disturbing aspect of love. Both poems, however, present the same sort of image in their conclusions: the image of the woman bound/trapped, but still able to see the wonders of the world around/beyond her. In "The Lean Girl," as it appears in Callaghan's anthology, the last two verses read:

> And sometimes
> Fastened in your breast,
> I half open
> My liquid eyes
>
> As strange and childish dreams
> Swirl
> Like green water. (*Lords* 8)

In "There is Certainly Someone," we once again get the images of water, eyes, and entrapment:

> My two eyes like
> Their own pure image of water
>
> Who forgot to erase the beauty of the world

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[46] The versions that appear in Callaghan's anthology are in fact taken from the first book, and not *Poems of French Canada* (1976) whose versions are slightly different. It is interesting, because other translations used in the anthology by Scott were taken from *Poems of French Canada*.

> Around me
> Forgot to close my hungry eyes
> And permitted their wasted passion. (75)

These images at the end of the two poems closely echo one of Callaghan's descriptions of love from the Introduction: "We are lovers whether we want to or not: ironic, with one foot in the grave, incubating in the gloom, but with visions of planets rotating around a room" (ix). Irony is one way to describe how Hébert describes love in these two poems, in particular "The Lean Girl," with a lover who has no heart, and another who hangs herself as a gift to him. More strongly, however, is the sense of tragedy in both of the poems in relation to love: in either case, the woman is left alone and isolated, powerless and confused, with only abstract images of the possible worlds outside to keep her company. Perhaps, as Callaghan puts in his Introduction, "We endure the winter," but Hébert's poems show that there is still a great deal of discontent.

Once again, there is very little critical reaction to this anthology: *Quill and Quire* included a brief review by Jane Urquhart. In her review, she praises how the anthology "demonstrates that love poetry is alive and well in Canada in the post-modern period," but criticizes the over-all composition of the anthology: "It is difficult...to determine just what editor Barry Callaghan is attempting to accomplish here...The collection is diminished by the apparent randomness of the selection and irrelevant juxtapositioning" (46). While Urquhart praises a number of poets and poems, she does not make any mention of Hébert, or the inclusion of Québécois poets at all. Although reception is limited, the anthology does speak to the appeal that Hébert holds: included in both popular and more canonical anthologies such as Colombo's or Toye's and in more independent, smaller anthologies such as Page's and Callaghan's.

Who Speaks for Canada? Morton and Weinfeld, 1998

Finally, in 1998, McClelland and Stewart published *Who Speaks for Canada? Words that Shape a Country*, edited by Desmond Morton and Morton Weinfeld. The book was conceived through McGill University's Ethnic Studies Program, and then adopted by the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada in 1994. Both editors are professors at McGill: Morton is a Professor of History while Weinfeld is a Professor of Sociology. The editors' "cheerfully acknowledged the inspiration of Diane Ravitch's *The American Reader*, which captured in words and images the essence of being American" (ix). The two academics received financial support from the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and items from the book were used on its website (ix).[47] The anthology includes 130 entries, of which 25 are from French-Canada. Hébert is represented by "The Tomb of Kings," translated by Miller, and is presented in both French and English. She is included in "Part Three: 1921-1960" under the heading "Precursor of a New Quebec."

In their Preface the editors explain how the anthology was collected: "From our own different experiences, we assembled prose and poetry, fiction and non-fiction that had spoken to each of us, and, if we found that they spoke powerfully to both of us, they survived" (x). Each editor then wrote their own Introduction, reflecting each of their academic disciplines. Morton, son of a Canadian soldier, provides the reader an interesting overview of Canadian history, particularly the history of immigration. Weinfeld takes a more sociological approach to Canada and his own history, as the son of Polish Holocaust survivors living in Montreal. While Morton admits that within his frame of knowledge and reference, "One big block is missing: *le fait québécois*" (xiv), Weinfeld "learned to speak French not in school but working in a hardware store in east-end Montreal" (xvi). He outlines his understanding of the Québécois:

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[47] That material is no longer available on the website.

> My generation in Montreal came of age as French nationalism in Quebec emerged onto the streets, on ballots, in classrooms, and later in boardrooms. While I was certainly part of a third solitude [Jewish] in Montreal, I felt then – as I do today – a visceral admiration for the efforts of French Quebeckers to retain their identity in a continental sea of English. That struggle resonated with my understanding of a similar Jewish experience, a concern for survival – "*la survivance*" – whether as a Diaspora minority or in the struggling state of Israel. (xvi)

Both editors, in their respective introductions, address the question of Quebec and its place in Confederation, as well as the place of Natives, and other immigrant/minority groups. Although Hébert is not mentioned directly in the introduction, not one specific author is mentioned, a reflection, perhaps, of the editors' focus on their respective stories and intellectual approaches.

"[O]ne of French Canada's most renowned authors" (141) is how the editors introduce Hébert to the reader. The editors provide a brief biographical sketch, and include the reason why she chose to move to France in 1954: "the crushing censorship of the Duplessis regime" (141). The editors then explain the title poem from *Le Tombeau des rois*: "It typifies the work of a poet who shuns the lush verbal imagery of her predecessors, seeking a spare modernist form in which each word must carry its own weight, in which the imagination has to work as hard as the poet" (141). Weinfeld explains in an email to the author that Hébert "captured a certain voice at a certain time" and "had a broad reputation," while the poem itself was "moving, full of mystery and power" (email 2005-02-17). The translation that is used in the anthology is Miller's, which had first appeared in 1967. It should be noted that either the editors or the typesetters got the spacing wrong on both the original French and the English translation: In the English version, the third and fourth verses are combined into one verse, while in French, the fourth and fifth verse are combined, although the fifth verse is separated into two, with the second half merged into the sixth verse. Here is how those verses appear in the anthology (which presented both the English and French side-by-side on the same page, as is below):

What thread of Ariadne leads me	Quel fil d'Ariane me mène
Along the muted labyrinths?	Au long des dédales sourds
The echo of footfall is swallowed there step by step.	L'écho des pas s'y mange à mesure
(In what dream	(En quel songe
Was this child bound by her ankle	Cette enfant fut-elle liée par la cheville
Like a fascinated slave?)	Pareille à une esclave fascinée?)
	L'auteur du songe
The author of the dream	Presse le fil,
Presses on the thread,	Et viennent les pas nus
So come the naked footsteps	
One by one	Un à un
Like the first drops of rain	Comme les premières gouttes de pluie
At the bottom of the well.	Au fond du puits
	Déjà l'odeur bouge en des orages gonflés
Already the odor stirs in swollen storms	Suinte sous le pas des portes
Seeps from the sills of the doors	Aux chambres secrètes et rondes,
Of the rooms, secret and round	Là où sont dressés les lits clos (142)
Where the enclosed beds are arrayed	

The choice of using Miller's translation was simply because it was the one that the editors found (email 2005-02-17).

Reaction to the anthology was mixed. While *Maclean's* mentions the appearance of the book, it offers no review, limiting said mention to 51 words. An editorial in the *Toronto Star* by James Steward lamenting the decline in young Canadians' knowledge in Canadian history calls for changes in the classroom: "Copies of *Who Speaks for Canada?*

by Desmond Morton and Morton Weinfeld, a collection of primary source readings in Canadian history, should also be widely available" (1). Two other mentions of the anthology are more interviews with one of the editors rather than a review of the anthology itself: in *Canadian Jewish News*, Weinfeld talks about how his Jewish heritage influenced his editorial choices, while *Wednesday-Night.com* (a Westmount weekly) interviews Westmount resident Desmond Morton about editing the anthology. Neither interview dissuades readers from picking up the anthology. That role is left up to W.H. New in an editorial for *Canadian Literature*:

> Unhappily, one of the most well-intentioned of anthologies, *Who Speaks for Canada?...*, sampling Great Paragraphs from the history of Canadian writing, ends up feeling stale, fragmentary, conventional – the identity chestnuts of old journalism and older textbooks – and desperate for a literary perspective. (216)

This lack of critical reception may be a reflection of what New notes at the end of the quote above: who is the audience for this particular collection? Is it literary, historical, sociological, political? All of the above? It would seem that, while important in its aim and scope, the anthology could never succeed at keeping any one potential target group satisfied. Perhaps it is a testament to Hébert's talents as a poet that she was included in an anthology made to appeal across disciplines, potentially, if not practically, exposing her to a entirely different audience than the other anthologies.

Conclusion

There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from looking at how Hébert has been anthologized in and for English Canada. Canadian anthologies are created for as many reasons as there are editors, using as many criteria for selecting both poems and translations. Anthologies in English Canada are also often seen as political tools, informing the reader on how to understand Canada. To include French-Canadian/Québécois poetry in translation in an anthology of Canadian literature can be understood to perform in a type of silencing or assimilation project, and also runs contrary to how literature is taught in Canada, through language departments (English, French, etc...). As the commercial demand for literary anthologies diminishes, the classroom becomes the primary consumer for the anthology, to be used as a teaching tool. We also see in the reviews, particularly those of English-Canadian anthologies that include French works in translation, the virtual non-acknowledgement of the Québécois authors. This could also be explained in part by politics, as well as specialization: most of the reviewers were specialists in English-Canadian literature, but not French. Rather than talk about literature they know little about, and be accused of misrepresenting the literature, the reviewers stuck to what they know, which in most cases was English Canada.

As for Hébert herself, there seems to be general agreement as to the role she played in the evolution of French-Canadian letters specifically, and literature in Canada in general. While anthologists tend to focus on her earlier poems, *Tombeau de rois* (1953) and *Poèmes* (1960), it is not surprising, as Hébert's next collection of poems only came out in 1992, *Le jour n'a d'égal que la nuit*. While the personal tastes of the anthologists differ in terms of which translation of which poem to use, each of them seems to see Hébert in a similar light. Hébert's poems are contextualized in a variety of ways, and made to fit the various central theses of the editors. This adaptation or appropriation of her poetry could be seen elsewhere as a negative; but arguing that this practice is beneficial to her career, looking at the instances of anthologization as a whole, would seem to make more sense. Presenting Hébert to an English-Canadian audience in a variety of contexts only adds to her exposure and her appeal, increasing her "capital symbolique." It could also be argued that this versatility is a testament to her skill as a poet: transcending and shifting from one possible means of interpreting and understanding her poems to a multitude. This power to transcend labels serves Hébert well, as her poetry move past the Canadian borders towards the south, as an almost completely different poet.

Chapter Four: Anne Hébert in English Abroad

While the previous chapter was concerned with Anne Hébert and the role she was to a certain extent made to play in nation building in Canada, and how that in turn created and shaped her image as an author, this chapter will look at how anthologies *outside* of the Canadian nation/nation-building exercise have been involved in this process. If anthologies are indeed narratives, and not necessarily a national narrative, then how does the inclusion of an author into a variety of these narratives affect her identity?

As stated in the introduction to the previous chapter, the analysis of the conditions leading up to Hébert's inclusion in the anthologies in question will be paired with the necessary analysis of the reception of the said collections. All of these smaller pieces, so to speak, when assembled give a complete picture of Anne Hébert, Poet, as understood in English. Although dealt with in separate chapters, one cannot discount the impact previous anthologies and translations had on the anthologizing process outside of Canada. Any potential exposure of Hébert's poetry to an English-speaking audience increased the likelihood of further translations and inclusion in anthologies.

Hébert as Woman Writer in the United States

The 1970s in the United States saw a growth in the interest of women writers and women's writing. At the same time Hébert was being lauded in Canada as one of the authentic voices of Quebec, she was being discovered in the United States as a voice for women. It is interesting that all of the anthologies studied below had the project in mind of creating a canon, a women's canon, using the traditional and often criticized form of the anthology. But the anthology did provide a number of advantages: access to the classroom, increased visibility, and creating a traditional narrative often associated with collections of this kind. As noted by Lawrence Venuti: "Every stage in the production, circulation and reception of a translation is profoundly marked by its historical moment, tracing a hsitory that is distinct from the history of the foreign text" ("Translation" 800). The following translations and anthologies are marked by the historical moment of the rise of feminism, particularly in the field of literary studies. Completely separate from the politics of her home country, American feminists discovered Hébert as a voice for women's oppression and potential transcendance. She is thus inserted into a new and, in some ways, larger canon and tradition: woman writer. That Hébert was a part of this process of canon formation at some of the earliest stages is important in understanding her image as a poet in English.

The Other Voice, Bankier *et al.*, 1976

In 1976 W.W. Norton published *The Other Voice: Twentieth-Century Women's Poetry in Translation*. The book was edited by six women: Joanna Bankier, Carol Cosman, Doris Earnshaw, Joan Keefe, Deidre Lashgari, and Kathleen Weaver, all of whom were all associated at that time with the Comparative Literature program at Berkeley. According to the Preface to the anthology:

> In 1970, a group of women, many associated with the Department of Comparative Literature at the University of California, Berkeley, came together to study the work of women writers who had been treated summarily or overlooked in the regular academic curriculum. We soon began to discover excellent women poets from ancient times to the present whose work had not been translated into English. To make this poetry available to the group, original translations were undertaken. In 1971 we began to meet on Sunday nights for poetry readings and translation workshops...Translations presented at these reading-workshops became the core of this anthology, which continued to grow and change over the next three years. (xxiii)

According to the Introduction, 38 countries and 31 languages are represented in the anthology by 77 different poets (including Anonymous). Hébert is represented by four poems, all translated by Kathleen Weaver: "Eve" and "Wisdom Has Broken My Arms" from *Poèmes* (1960) and "Night" and "Landscape" from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953). Hébert is also the only representative from Quebec or Canada included in the anthology. The anthology is organized thematically: (1) "Being a Woman," (2) "Women and Men," (3) "Meditations," (4) "Speaking for Others" and (5) "Visions." Hébert's "Eve" opens the anthology in the first section "Being a Woman" while "Wisdom" is included in the "Women and Men" section, and "Night" and "Landscape" are in the "Meditations" section.

Adrienne Rich (who also translated a number of poems in the anthology), in her Foreword, writes that this collection of twentieth-century women poets represents "an unearthing [of] our buried cities, our pictographs on the walls of hidden canyons, our anonymous songs, our lost arts and tools, our secret sharings, our inscriptions which are only beginning to be deciphered" (xvii). The idea of limiting the anthology to the twentieth-century but at the same time making it broadly-based in order to include exclusively poetry in translation originates from the following impetus:

> Many of the women included here have influenced the poetic traditions and language of their own lands, while remaining unknown to each other. In an age of renewed interest in translation, the women poets of the world have still lacked a real sense of each other's powers. Not just women who write poetry, but the state of poetry itself, and all who look to poetry for greater self-knowledge, have suffered from this ignorance. (xvii-xviii)

The main criterion for selecting the poetry is that it must be "of an extraordinary quality and importance for us today" (1). The editors also explain their decision to group the poems thematically rather than historically or geographically:

> Ultimately, we believe it is important to understand the women poets within the contexts of their respective histories and traditions. At present, with the work of discovery hardly begun, this is only occasionally possible. Therefore we have chosen not to stress distinctions of time and place, but rather to arrange our selections according to recurrent themes that cut across cultural, geographical, and temporal boundaries. (1-2)

The poems were then organized "so that each might benefit from the interplay of echoing and contrasting voices" (2).

As this was the first time that many of these poets had been presented in English, the editors address the issue of translation quite extensively in their introductory sections. Rich acknowledges the inherent difficulties of translating poetry from different languages: "The music, the associative patterns within a language, the way certain words, sounds, meanings conflict and resonate within a poem are, if not lost, anyway transformed, transposed, rescored for a different instrument, in the act of translation" (xx). Rich also reassures the reader that "The translators for this anthology...have sought a natural and translucent English unencumbered by laborious imitations of, say, Russian rhyme-patterns. What we receive are the images, in which we touch our profound common experience..." (xx). In their "Note on Translation," the editors remind the reader that "[i]t is important to be aware that these poems in English *are* translations, that they embody a very special kind of literary process. A poetic translation can never reproduce the original poem" (xxv). Citing the difficulties presented by grammatical structure, colloquial expressions and cultural/linguistic allusions, and metric forms, the editors reiterate Rich's assurances that most of the translators "have chosen...to preserve the poetic image of the original poem within a clear and natural English" (xxvi).

Not much is known about Hébert's translator Kathleen Weaver.[48] The biography at the end of the 1976 collection informs the reader that she was born in 1945 (location not listed), holds an MA from Berkeley in Comparative Literature, and had previously studied in Paris and Edinburgh (214). She also taught courses on poetry, women's literature, and film. Her translation experience to that point had been limited to "an anthology of poetry about the coup in Chile, *Chile sí*" (214). One could conclude that Weaver learned, or at least perfected, her French while studying in France. In the anthology, Weaver also translated other poems from French, as well as from Romanian and Portuguese. Her translation interests later shifted towards women poets from Latin America writing in Spanish, such as the Cuban Nancy Moréjon and the Peruvian Magda Portal. In an article for *Translation Review* in 1990, Weaver discusses her translations of Portal, and how she discovered this poet, a discussion that also provides insight into how the research process took place in part in creating *The Other Voice*: "I first came across the name Magda Portal sometime in 1975, while doing research for the *Penguin Book of Women Poets* [1979]. On the shelves of the main library of the University of California Berkeley, I found *Una esperanza y el mar* (A hope and the sea), 1927..." (41). The process of "unearthing" texts for *The Other Voice* (and the subsequent *Penguin Book of Women Poets*, to be discussed below) would have involved a number of trips to the library, wandering through the stacks. The Berkeley library, according to its online catalogue, has a copy of Hébert's *Poèmes* (1960), as well as *The Tomb of Kings* (1967) translated by Peter Miller, *St-Denys Garneau and Anne Hébert* (1962) by F.R. Scott and *Poems* (1975) translated by Alan Brown. The editors, in their biography of Hébert, list Miller's translation, but not Scott or Brown's (although Brown's was only published the year before of the anthology and may not have been available when the anthology was sent to the publishers). The library database shows that all three books of poetry would have been located in exactly the same area.

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[48] A number of attempts to contact Ms. Weaver through her publishers and UC Berkeley have been unsuccessful. Attempts have also been made to contact the other editors of the anthology, with no success.

Hébert's biography describes the publication of *Le Tombeau des rois* as "[establishing] her reputation as a French-Canadian poet of major importance" (205). It goes on to describe her as a novelist and short story writer, as well as having worked in television, theater, and film, mentioning, too, that her novel *Kamouraska* had recently been made into a film. *Poèmes* is not included, while *Le Tombeau des rois* and *Les songes en équilibre* are, with the latter being given an incorrect publication date (1964 rather than 1942). The permissions page states that all four poems were from *Poèmes*, copyright 1960 by Éditions du Seuil, thus confirming that the editors did know of the collection. What is interesting, however, is who is cited as granting permission for the translations themselves: Musson Book Company for "Wisdom Has Broken My Arms," who had just put out the translation, *Poems* (1975) by Alan Brown and Georges Borchardt, Inc, for the remaining three poems. Georges Borchardt, Inc, is an American literary agency based in New York. What is confusing here is that all four poems were translated and included in Brown's book, and thus should have all been under the copyright of Musson Book Company. Regardless, the editors and the translator herself were aware of and had access to at least one translation of the two poems from *Le Tombeau des rois*.

Hébert's poem "Eve," taken from *Poèmes* (1960), opens the anthology's first section "Being a Woman." This section is described by the editors in their Introduction as being about "the cultural and biological experiences of being a woman" as well as about "the search for identity in figures of myth and legend" (2). "Eve" is cited as being an example of that search for identity, along with Else Lasker-Schüler's "The Voices of Eden" and Sophia de Mello Breyner Andersen's "Sonnet to Eurydice." That Hébert's poem occupies the opening pages of the anthology proper speaks volumes as to the importance and impact the poem could have had on the reader. The poem itself is representative of Hébert's later poems (late 1950s-early 1960s), which were more in the style of prose poems, but no less symbolic than the poems in *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953). The translation tries to preserve the economy of language Hébert is known for by eliminating unnecessary pronouns and conjunctions in English. Thus, the first line, "Reine et maîtresse certaine crucifiée aux portes de la ville la plus lointaine" (*Oeuvre* 88) becomes "Queen, mistress, crucified at the gates of the furthest city" (9). Weaver also often changes the order of the images within the verses of the poem; as suggested in the Introduction, the images remain, but the impact, in some cases, is altered. The ninth verse reads as follows in French, "Mère de Christ souviens-toi des filles dernières-nées, de celles qui sont sans nom ni histoire, tout de suite fracassées entre deux très grandes pierres" (*Oeuvre* 88) is translated as "Mother of Christ, remember your last born daughters, the ones crushed, suddenly, between huge stones, nameless and without history" (9). Not only is the impact of the lines changed, so too are the images subtly changed: in the French, the daughters are crushed "tout de suite", immediately, while in English the use of the word "suddenly" does not convey the immediacy expressed by the original. In a subsequent line, Hébert writes, "Souviens-toi du coeur initial sous le sacre du matin, et renouvelle notre visage comme un destin pacifié" (*Oeuvre* 89). Weaver translates this line as "Remember the first heart under the rites of morning, Eve, renew our faces like a destiny soothed" (10). While translating the word "pacifié" as "soothed" is not incorrect, it does negate the other meaning of the word, pacified. This second meaning is reinforced in the following line, which talks about war, but the secondary meaning is lost with the English use of the word "soothed."

In the section "Women and Men," the poems "explore different aspects of relationship – fulfillment in love, the desire for independence, and the anguish of conflict and separation. Again and again these poems return to the question of identity, the difficulty of defining oneself as a woman" (3). While "Wisdom Has Broken My Arms" is not directly mentioned in the Introduction, it certainly fits within the overall theme of the quest for identity and the anguish of a love affair as well as "tension and of bitter conflict" (3). This particular poem is also from *Poèmes* (1960), and is written in prose poem form. As she did in her translation of "Eve," Weaver eliminates many of the pronouns and conjunctions in English, as well as changing the order of the images in her translation. For example, the first verse in French is

> La sagesse m'a rompu le bras, brisé les os
> C'était une très vieille femme envieuse
> Pleine d'onction, de fiel et d'eau verte (*Oeuvre* 81)

The translation reads

> Wisdom has broken my arms, shattered my bones –
> An envious woman, very old,

> Pious, full of gall and green water (*Other Voice* 81)

Over-all, the translation remains close to the original French in terms of the images presented and does so in an accessible English. The one exception is the last two lines of the penultimate verse. In French, those lines read

> Tout feu, toutes flèches, tout désir au plus vif de la lumière,
> Envers, endroit, amour et haine, toute la vie en un seul honneur.
> (*Oeuvre* 82)

The translation, however, reads

> Fire, arrows, desire, in the strongest light
> One way or another, all life in a single honor. (*Other Voice* 82)

Gone is the idea conveyed in the first line quoted here of totality, and completely removed is the opposition created in the last line. Weaver either misunderstood the implication and the meaning of these two lines, or was overzealous in her attempts to capture Hébert's economy of language. Regardless, the meaning and impact of the poem are severely modified in Weaver's translation.

The final two poems are included in the section "Meditations." This section contains poems "in which states of feeling are projected through images of nature and the cycle of seasonal change. These are poems of solitude, often of sadness" (4). "Landscape" is singled out by the editors for how it portrays water, "an image of the decay of memory and the loss of childhood" (4). While "Night" is not directly mentioned, the poem once again fits within the overall theme, using the image of water as "a metaphor for female stasis and silence" (4). Both these poems are from Hébert's earlier collection, *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953), and are shorter, sparser and more compact than the other Hébert poems included in the anthology. The translations of "Landscape" and "Night" are perhaps Weaver's finest of the four, masterfully recreating the sparse language while accurately preserving the images and atmosphere created by Hébert. In the first line of the second verse there is an excellent example of one of the challenges presented to a translator working on poetry. In French the line reads, "Je repose au fond de l'eau muette et glauque," while Weaver's translation is, "I lie in the depths of silent sea-green waters" (117). There is no one-word expression that has the same meaning, and aural quality, of "glauque" and thus the translator is forced to use the accurate, but less poetic "sea-green." Another interesting choice in this line is the use of the word "silent" as the translation for the word "muette." "Muette" again has a double meaning, both of silence and of being unable to speak, silenced. That dual implication is partially lost in the decision to use "silent."

Reaction to the anthology is generally positive. In her brief review in *Library Journal*, Suzanne Juhasz calls the anthology a "major achievement" and anticipates the impact that the anthology may have: "How we have been granted access to the poetry of women from the rest of our world: this collection expands and enriches our understanding of the matter and range of women's poetry" (205). Sally Rosenbluth, in *The University of Windsor Review*, problematizes the choice of a women-only poetry anthology: "I would suggest that a book like this one may well prove self-defeating...For these poems need no such limiting feminist appellation: they are poetry, pure and simple, and some of them very good indeed" (93). She concludes her review by stating: "The feminist movement ought to be grateful: sexual equality, when it comes, will have its basis in that – in our common humanity and nothing else" (95). *Choice* commends the editors and concludes that the anthology has "merit enough to deserve inclusion in every high school, college and university library." (675). Gerard Grealish, in *Best Seller*, on the other hand, comments that: "A cliché is a cliché – if translations cannot rise above them, are they worth it?" (21) In *Parnassus*, Gloria Bowles provides not only a review but also a more in-depth analysis of the anthology and its contents. She is the lone reviewer to mention Hébert (identifying her as Canadian) and looks at "Eve" in regards to how Hébert rewrites myth and integrates the women's perspective: "The conscious contemporary woman poet is the sum total of the women she has known through her poems" (336). Bowles concludes by stating that "*The Other Voice* not only adds to our knowledge of literature by women; it reminds us that the history of twentieth-century poetry is an *international* history" (338). Hébert, through her inclusion in this anthology, is thus made a part of this "international history" of poetry.

***The Penguin Book of Women Poets*, Cosman *et al.* 1979**

In 1979, Viking Press published *The Penguin Book of Women Poets*, edited by Carol Cosman, Joan Keefe and Kathleen Weaver.[49] This project was again realized by the Berkeley group, as the other editors of *The Other Voice*, Joanna Bankier, Doris Earnshaw and Deirdre Lashgari, are listed as Consulting Editors. This anthology, which takes a historical perspective on women poets begins as early as ancient Egypt, and includes women poets who wrote in English. Over 200 individual authors are featured, each represented by a small selection of her poems. The anthology was in the works when *The Other Voice* was published, as Weaver's biographical note in the earlier anthology would indicate: "co-editor of a historical survey of women poets" (214). The Penguin anthology is divided into four historical sections: The Ancient World, The Middle Period, The Renaissance and its Contemporaries, and The Twentieth Century:

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[49] The Penguin anthology was reissued in 1985.

Moderns and Contemporaries, which is by far the largest section. Each poet has an accompanying biography and brief historical context preceding the selected poems. Hébert is represented in the Twentieth Century section by two poems, again translated by Kathleen Weaver: "The Tomb of Kings," from the collection of the same name, and "Spring over the City," from *Poèmes* (1960). Hébert is identified as representing "French Canada," and is the only such representative.

In their relatively brief Preface, the editors explain their selection process: "[F]irst, the desire to present a cross-cultural panorama by representing as many literatures as possible; second, the desire to be representative with respect to each literature; third and most important, the concern for literary excellence, against which the other factors were weighed" (32). The editors, reflecting their background in comparative literature, consciously attempt to encourage a comparative analysis of the poems: "[The poems'] collection into a single anthology must inevitably remove them from their immediate contexts, but the comparative view to be gained by the presentation in English of poetry from so many different languages and cultures is illuminating" (31). The editors' views towards translation remain unchanged between the two anthologies: "Necessity, then, provided the opportunity to present diverse translations, which, while conveying the sense of the originals, succeed as readable, often extremely fine poems in English" (31-32). The editors also seem to address the criticisms of the first anthology. They address the issue of a women-only anthology and acknowledge the divergent views: "It does not come as a surprise that even today some women poets will not allow their work to appear in anthologies devoted exclusively to women" (30). The editors also directly contradict one of Adrienne Rich's more militant statements from her Forward to

The Other Voice. Rich writes that "[this anthology] reinforces my sense that women of whatever class, nation or race share a common sensibility" (Bankier xviii). The editors of *Women Poets* conclude their Preface with: "We hope that this book is presented in a way that permits each poem to be appreciated for its particular merits and each poet to speak in her own voice" (33). The singular voice from the previous anthology has been replaced by a multitude of voices.

Preceding Hébert's poems is a brief biographical note, which is more complete and accurate than the one in *The Other Voice*. Her education is outlined, "She received, at her father's insistence, a rigorous education in the French tradition" (356), as well as the fact that she had lived for many years in France at that point. *Les Songes en équilibre* is given the correct publication date (1942). It is interesting to note that once again, even though one of the two poems included in the anthology is from *Poèmes* (1960), the collection is not mentioned in the biographical note, nor are any titles of her novels or short stories. The collection is properly cited in the copyright acknowledgement section at the end of the book (as is Musson Book Company for both poems). It is also mentioned in the biographical sketch that Hébert "has received the highest literary honors of French Canada" (356). While not entirely accurate, as she had won *Canada's* highest literary honor (the Governor-General's Award), as well as some of France's highest literary prizes (Prix Fémina), the biography in this anthology is much more accurate than the biography included in *The Other Voice*.

The first translation used in this anthology is "The Tomb of Kings," which will be analyzed in a subsequent chapter. The second translation included in the anthology is "Spring over the City," taken from *Poèmes* (1960). Again, this particular poem is reflective of the longer, more prose-like style of Hébert's later poems of that period. Possibly Weaver's best translation of either anthology, it remains faithful to the original's images while incorporating poetic effect in English. The first lines in French read: "Le jour charrie des neiges déchues, salies, moisies, ruinées" (*Oeuvre* 79). Weaver translates them as follows: "The day transports fallen snows, muddied, mildewed, ruined" (358). Weaver not only recreates the closing sounds of the words, but adds the "m/n" sound. Alliteration is used again in fourth line ("masses of mud"), the sixth line ("wound washed") and the final line ("strange sojourn") (359). The third line is enhanced not only by alliteration, but through Weaver's use of sounds: "Winter **veers** and **tears** like flaking scale, the world is naked **under bitter** lichens" (359), recreating sound patterns from the original French: "L'hivers **chavire** et se **déchire** comme une mauvaise écaille, le monde est nu sous des lichens **amers**" (*Oeuvre* 79). Weaver achieves the stated desired balance between accurately recreating the images, while preserving the poetic force.

Reactions to this anthology are mixed. Suzanne Juhasz calls the anthology "the most ambitious collection to date in the ongoing search for poetry by women" (633) in her review for *Library Journal* but adds that "to read the book is a tantalizing but frustrating and strangely disappointing experience. The one or two poems by each writer don't make much of a statement...I find that the collection tells me less about women poets of the world than I thought it might" (633). Joyce Carol Oates, in a considerably longer review in *The New Republic*, indicates that the editors may be victim of their own ambition: "One's spirits sag at the very *thought*: hundreds of poems by more women poets than I cared to count, arranged in chronological order...A dizzying profusion, necessarily uneven" (28). Oates describes the effects of reading the final section of the anthology as "being approximately that of a train ride at high speed through an exotic and varied landscape. So promising are some of the sights, though blurred, that one fully intends to return -- which is perhaps an anthology's primary reason for being" (29). While Hébert is not mentioned directly in either of the reviews, one would probably be inclined to conclude that the reviewers simply had too many authors to talk about. Also, given that the reviewers are both American, it is not surprising that they choose to focus on those women writers who are a part of the English canon already, and thus well-known (Oates mentions Dickinson, Plath, Stein, etc), or sufficiently exotic and unknown to warrant a mention (for Oates, early Chinese poetry, Medieval *trobairitz*, etc...). Nonetheless, a reader would not be discouraged from buying either anthology from the reviews. While they most likely would not have been directly drawn to Hébert, her exposure would certainly have been increased simply through her inclusion in the anthology.

A Book of Women Poets from Antiquity to Now, Aliki and Willis Barstone, 1980

In 1980 Schocken Books published *A Book of Women Poets from Antiquity to Now*, edited by Aliki Barnstone and her father Willis Barnstone.[50] Divided first by language of origin, then by country of origin and finally historically, the anthology includes 311 women poets. Each poet is represented by a significant selections of her poetry, and accompanied by a brief biography and selected bibliography. Anne Hébert is listed under French, Canada, and nine of her poems are included, representing the different stages of her career as a poet: five from *Le Tombeau des rois* ("The Great

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[50] A revised edition was published in 1992, with an expanded section on American women poets. Comparing the two editions, nothing regarding Hébert was changed.

Fountains," "The Skinny Girl," "Our Hands in the Garden," "The Tomb of Kings," and "Life in the Castle"); two from *Poèmes* ("Bread Is Born," and "Alchemy of the Day"); and two uncollected poems that would eventually appear in *Jour n'a d'égal que la nuit* ("Crown of Happiness," and "The Offended"). This would seem to fulfill one of the goals of the editors, as expressed in the Introduction, to "give the reader a notion of the scope of key poets" (ix). Four different translators were used: Maxine Kumin for "Bread is Born," Alfred Poulin Jr. for "Alchemy of the Day" and "Our Hands in the Garden" while Aliki and Willis Barnstone collaborated on "The Tomb of Kings," with the elder Barnstone providing translations of the rest. Willis Barnstone is Distinguished Professor at Indiana University and was once a Pulitzer Prize finalist for his poetry. He has also translated extensively from Spanish, Ancient Greek, Portuguese, and Chinese. He is responsible for translating, alone or in collaboration, 276 of the 788 poems in the anthology. Aliki Barnstone is a Professor of English at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas and is also a distinguished poet and translator in her own right.[51] Maxine Kumin is a Pulitzer-Prize winning poet, and provided a number of translations from French for the anthology.

Work on the anthology began in early 1977 with the following announcement in the "Wanted" section of the literary newsletter *Coda*:

> Aliki and Willis Barnstone are looking for poems translated from foreign women poets (European, Asian, African, etc.) for an anthology they are editing for Schocken Books. Please send translations with a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Aliki and Willis Barnstone, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. (23)

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[51] Biographical information taken from http://web.whittier.edu/barnstone/INDEX.HTM.

Kumin, however, was already sending Willis Barnstone some her translations in March 1977 (Barnstone Mss.) from the French, indicating that the anthology had been in the works even earlier than 1977. In a letter dated 5 April, 1978, Sonia Raiziss Giop recommended Hébert for inclusion and pointed Barnstone to the anthology *The Other Voice*, where Hébert was also included. Willis Barnstone already knew of Hébert, from his research for an earlier anthology, *Modern European Poetry* (1967), and felt that she was and still is the best Canadian poet in either language (Interview 2005-10-14). At that time, the most complete selection of Hébert's poems in English was Alan Brown's *Poems*, which Barnstone "hated" (Interview 2005-10-14). For Barnstone, the translated poem had to be beautiful in English (Interview 2005-10-14), or as he has put differently elsewhere: "Fidelity to the quality of the original, presumably a good poem if worth translating, is foremost. If the new poem is not a good poem, the translation is a betrayal" ("ABC" 35). Through his work as a poet and translator, Barnstone was friends with Alfred Poulin Jr, and knew of his upcoming translations of Hébert's poetry for the *Quarterly Review of Literature*. Two of the poems translated by Poulin had appeared previously in the anthology *The Contemporary World Poets* (1976), which will be dealt with later in this chapter. Unfortunately for Barnstone, the rights holder for Hébert's poetry in English (General Publishing) would not permit him to use the new translations. He appealed directly to the author and received the following letter from Hébert, dated August 26, 1979, from Paris:

> De retour à Paris, après un séjour au Canada, je retrouve une lettre des Éditions du Seuil, ainsi qu'une copie de votre lettre du 25 juillet.
>
> Pour ma part je serais très heureuse que mes poèmes soient publiés dans "A Book of women poets from antiquity to now." J'écris dans ce sens à mon éditeur de General Publishing.

> Dans l'espoir que tous les problèmes soient réglés entre vous et General Publishing, veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes meilleurs sentiments. (Barnstone Mss.)

And thus the "new" translations were included in the anthology. Despite all this hard work to receive proper copyright permission, the acknowledgements section lists "The Alchemy of Day" and "Our Hands in the Garden" as being taken from "*Eve* by Anne Hébert" (*Women Poets* 582), a non-existent publication. The selection of the poems themselves would seem to follow the observation outlined in the critical biography for Hébert preceding the poems: "[Hébert's] most common subject is a woman in a bizarre domestic setting, repressed and sad. The scene appears normal, but on closer inspection it takes on a surreal, even hallucinatory quality" (229). "Bread is Born" takes one of the most common and mundane "female" tasks, baking, and creates a truly surreal setting, while the other poems follow suit with similar results.

The translations themselves for the most part follow Barnstone's own guidelines for good poetry translations. Concerned with sound and rhythm in poetry, he writes: "Sound is an essential element in an original poem. In a translated poem sound is also essential" ("Sound" 162). In his "ABC's of Translations," Barnstone states: "Freedom is permitted. Freedom to make errors is not. Freedom and errors are not the same" (35-6). Take for example this verse from Kumin's translation of "Bread is Born." The original French reads as follows:

> J'entends battre contre la porte, lâches et soumises, milles bêtes aigres au pelage terne, au yeux aveugles; toute une meute servile qui mâchonne des mots comme des herbes depuis les aubes les plus vieilles. (*Oeuvre* 67)

Kumin's translation reads as follows:

> what I hear are a thousand blind and bitter animals thumping against the door, a servile pack of hounds, slack and submissive in their mangy pelts, who've been chomping on words like grass since the dawn of time. (230)

The poem lends itself to a freer translation due to the prose-like structure, and Kumin takes advantage of this freedom by moving the images around in the verse. In so doing she recreates sound patterns from the original French. Hébert uses the "m" sound in the verse (*mille*, *meute*, *mâchonne*, *mots*) while Kumin uses both a "b" sound (*blind*, *bitter*) and an "s" sound (*servile*, *slack*, *submissive*). In Willis and Aliki's translation of "The Tomb of Kings," the translators manage to recreate a line in translation that has stumped previous translators. The line "Ce n'est que la profoundeur de la mort qui persiste" becomes "It's only the depth of death that survives" (239).

Barnstone may write that freedom to commit errors is not permitted; he nonetheless commits a number of them in the two uncollected poems included in the anthology. In "Crown of Happiness," the French line reads, "Les dormeurs nagent dans une nuit sans étage" (*Oeuvre* 115) and Barstone translates it as "Swimmers, swim in a storyless night" (233). "Dormeurs" means "sleepers" not "swimmers," and would still preserve the "s" sound pattern. While "storyless" is an accurate translation of "sans étage," it does however add an extra level of meaning that is not present in the French original: story is more commonly used to describe a narrative, while here it is to mean different levels, the only meaning expressed by the French word "étage." Barnstone does advocate "always [trying] to improve" the original through translations (Hoeksema 11), one wonders if adding meaning to the poem that was not originally present is an improvement. In "The Offended," Barnstone makes a similar choice in his translation, rendering the word "muets" by "dumb." Again, while accurate, "dumb" carries multiple meanings, meanings not present in the French. The original lines read as follows: "En cette misère extrême les muets venaient en tête/ Tout un people de muets se tenait sur les barricades" (*Oeuvre* 114). The translation reads: "In this extreme misery the dumb took the lead/A dumb populace massed on the barricades" (233). Perhaps error is too strong a word to describe Barnstone's choice of words, but the added meaning would seem to push against the boundaries Barnstone himself sets up.

Critical reaction to the anthology is generally quite positive. The critique from *Library Journal* calls the collection "essential for libraries" (Judd 1639) while *School Library Journal* says the anthology "is more ambitious than the recent *Penguin Book of Women Poets*" as well as more accessibly organized (Chapin 162). But the real coup for the anthology is a featured review in *Time* magazine; it spans two pages, complete with pictures and extensive quotes from the collections. Once again, referring to the two previous anthologies studied here, critic Patricia Blake states: "In scope and in quality of translation, [the work of Aliki and Willis Barnstone] surpasses such previous efforts as the *Penguin Book of Women Poets* and *The Other Voice: Twentieth-Century Women's Poetry in Translation*" (85). Hébert merits a special mention by Blake, who notes: "There are scores of surprising talents such as the French Canadian Anne Hébert, 64, and the American Ruth Stone, 65, who are among the most personal, powerful and sensuous of the contemporary poets represented" (85). The review appears in late 1980. In 1981 *Time* would introduce new features to the Books section, including an "Editor's Choice" list. Starting in the January 12, 1981, edition and running weekly until the March 9, 1981 edition, *A Book of Women Poets from Antiquity to Now* is listed as an "Editor's Choice" selection.[52] The mainstream attention this anthology attracted seems to be a result of both the quality of the anthology and an increasing interest in women writers and poets.

There are a number of similarities between the Barnstone anthology and *The Poetry of French Canada* by John Glassco. All three editors were respected poets and translators in their own right before embarking on what can be described as a tremendous undertaking. All three sought to create landmark anthologies celebrating the poetry of a group previously ignored or marginalized. The three editors sought the best poets to include and the best translators to use for their respective anthologies. All three were very active in the poetic community, and thus had a vast network of knowledgeable people at their disposal to consult. All three subscribe to the idea of using an "informant" as put by Barnstone, or consulting someone who is more familiar with the original text while translating ("ABC's" 35). The three translators also have very similar ideas regarding translating poetry. And finally, the three created (or help to create) what would become a seminal anthology, building on and expanding the work that came before. Their similar approaches seemed to guarantee a certain degree of success for the anthology as well as increased exposure to a new audience for Hébert.

***Sinuous Laces*, Janis L. Pallister, 1986**

In 1986, Janis L. Pallister, through Presse Orphique, published *Sinuous Laces: A Sampler of French Canadian Women Poets*. The collection contains selections from 16 French Canadian women poets, all translated by Pallister herself. Hébert is represented by eight poems: three poems each from *Les Songes en équilibre* (1942) ("Music," "Sea-

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[52] The references were taken from the *Time* archive website: http://www.time.com/time/archive/

Front," "Two Hands") and *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953) ("The Voice of the Bird," "Certainly Someone," "The Tomb of the Kings"), one from *Poèmes* (1960) ("Eve") and one uncollected poem ("Ballad of a Dying Child").[53] The collection also includes notes on each of the authors. Pallister is a Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Romance Languages at Bowling Green State University, and a poet in her own right. Pallister translated poetry from French, Catalan, Spanish, German and Italian, and won an N.E.A. Award for her book *The Bruised Reed*, a book of translations of Black poets from Spanish, French and Portuguese. She has recently (2001) edited a collection of essays on Anne Hébert, *The Art and Genius of Anne Hébert*. In her Forward to the collection of essays, Pallister writes that Hébert "is a major literary figure of the twentieth century" (11) and praises her "poetic style," whose "beauty and originality...are more easily experienced than described" (12).

That poetic style, however, is often lost in Pallister's translations, which are quite literal or direct, and often wrong. This is especially reflected in her translation of "The Tomb of the Kings," where the line "Livide et repue de songe horrible" becomes "Livid and stuffed with horrible dream" (33), or "Cercles vains jeux d'ailleurs" literally but not accurately becomes "Circles empty reflections from other places" (33). Another mistake in the translation occurs when Pallister translates "Et cet oiseau que j'ai/Respire/Et se plaint étrangement" as "And this bird I've inhaled/Laments so strangely" (33) or when

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[53] The information in regards to "Ballad of a Dying Child" comes from Robert Harvey's bibliography from his website devoted to Anne Hébert: (http://www.anne-Hébert.com/bibliogr.htm). According to his bibliography, "Ballad d'un enfant qui va mourir" appeared in *Gants du ciel*, number 4, June 1944, along with a number of other poems by Hébert, none of which would be included in any of her subsequent collections, save for "Les petites villes" which would be included in *Le Tombeau des rois*. Consulted on April 20, 2005.

Pallister simply omits the final three verses in her translation of "The Voice of the Bird" (26). In her notes on the poets, Pallister offers little more than basic biographical information, and mentions a few of Hébert's other publications. Hébert's bio contains additional comments as compared to the other poets in the collection: "Her poem entitled Eve is one of the most famous by any French Canadian poet" (52). Looking at the anthologies studied here, as well as the critical work regarding Hébert's poetry, one does not exactly find "Eve" receiving any sort of excessive attention. While Hébert is the first poet featured in the small anthology, Pallister provides a dubious introduction at best.[54]

Obviously the number of poetry anthologies from the United States that included Hébert is much smaller than in Canada. But, although the sample is small, the impact seems to be no less important: Hébert is firmly established as an important member of the international canon of women writers. The Penguin anthology brings along with it the name Penguin, as well as the weight of its influence; the Barnstone anthology carries the importance and influence of one of the first families of poetry and translation; and while Pallister's anthology is smaller, it is no less significant because it represents another market where Hébert is being introduced. The importance that academia, particularly modern languages and comparative literature programs, played in the introduction of Hébert's poetry to a more mainstream audience should not be ignored either. Not only were these professors/editors teaching women poets, including Hébert, to their students, but they were also providing the tools necessary to allow instructors across the country to introduce themselves and their students to Hébert's poetry. The area of women's studies was also growing rapidly during this period, creating an appetite for these types of anthologies. While limiting in a certain sense, these anthologies of women poets provided important exposure for Hébert in a market that may not have been otherwise introduced to her works.

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[54] It is not terribly surprising, then, that Hébert refused to allow Pallister to produce and publish a complete collection of her poetry in English. In a draft email dated August 20, 2001, Pallister wrote to Robert Harvey asking him for his assistance in obtaining permission: "Je vous écris pour vous dire que j'ai bien l'idée qu'il est temps de réunir toutes les poésies d'Anne Hébert dans un seul volume, et que vous êtes à mon avis la personne qui pourrait réaliser un tel projet." Another issue in Pallister's quest to publish the complete poems is Hébert's refusal to see her early poetry, *Les Songes en équilibre*, republished in any form again. Finally, the relationship between Poulin and Hébert may have influenced Hébert's decision to not allow permission to translate to another translator. I would like to thank Prof. Pallister for forwarding the email to me.

One cannot discount the importance, either, of the timing of Hébert's inclusion in these four anthologies: all come after the release of her acclaimed novel *Kamouraska* (1970), followed up by the movie of the same title by Claude Jutra (1973). While many already knew of Hébert and her works, it was *Kamouraska* that made the author a household name internationally. That exposure would have certainly influenced the editors' decision to include Hébert in their anthologies, and she provided a sort of name-brand recognition to the collections.

Hébert as French Poet

While Hébert was primarily known in English as a French-Canadian/Québécoise poet, she lived a great deal of her life in France, while winning a number of literary awards and enjoying great critical and commercial success in her adopted home country. Her popularity in France, as well as France's tendency to assimilate the best writing from the former colonies into its own canon, was not lost on editors of anthologies that dealt with French or European poetry in translation. As stated previously, Willis Barnstone had considered Hébert for his anthology of European poets in translation, although one would imagine she was excluded because she was not, in fact, European. But once again, Hébert is placed in a context or historical moment external to her original historical context. This inclusion into a wholly new and different canon exposes Hébert to another audience who may not have otherwise discovered her poetry, adding further pieces to her image as a poet in English.

Anthology of Contemporary French Poetry, G.D. Martin, 1972

In 1972, Graham Dunstan Martin edited the *Anthology of Contemporary French Poetry*, published by the University of Edinburgh Press as part of its Bilingual Library collection.[55] The aim on the Bilingual Library was to "aid those who have a wide-ranging and adventurous interest in literature to jump the hurdles of language" as well as provide translations that are "good literature worth publishing in [their] own right" (v-vi). Martin also produced all of the translations for the anthology, which consisted of works from 36 French poets from France, Canada, and North Africa. He focused on what he considers "the most interesting new figures in French poetry of the 1950s and 1960s" and therefore favored "younger and lesser known [poets]" primarily from the Surrealist movement (1). In his Introduction, Martin mentions "Canadian poet Fernand Ouellette" as one of the more influential poets of the Surrealist movement (2), and while he does not mention Hébert directly, does address the situation with French Canadian poetry, and as his criteria for selecting poets from outside of France:

> In Canada too, where there are also serious public dilemmas, and where poetry has now come of age, the best work seems to me still to be inward-looking. I have included two coloured and two French Canadian poets, but practically none of their poems given here could be said to involve a possible political theme. (11)

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[55] According to the American reviews for the anthology, it would appear to have been published by the University of Texas Press, Austin for distribution in the US.

Although many would argue that there is a very strong political undercurrent to Hébert's poetry, the statement does reveal Martin's leaning towards the universal in his selection for the anthology. Martin also included a biographical sketch of each author in the back of the anthology, and called Hébert "perhaps French Canada's finest poet," pointing to her poems' "hard metallic quality, their compression, and the painful quality of much of the imagery" (202). This view of Hébert's poetry is reflected in Martin's translations of her poems.

Martin taught French at the University of Edinburgh from 1965 to 2000, where he also wrote and translated poetry. In a letter to me dated February 23, 2004, Martin explains his choice to include Hébert in his anthology:

> I chose Anne Hébert…because she is a true poet, writing poems that, often, seem like excerpts from an evil fairy-tale and which, always, provides that authentic shiver down the spine which, according to Robert Graves, is the sign of true poetry. I should add that I was delighted to find her, since the French poetry of France is strangely lacking in female poets of the first rank (though I am less familiar with the present situation). The only other woman poet in my anthology is Joyce Mansour, a rather sinister writer, of Egyptian origin, associated with the Surrealists. I found no other women poets from the period who were, in my opinion, of that quality…You will notice however, that, in my anthology, AH has as many poems as anybody else, namely 8 (with the exception of Jean Follain, who has 9. But his poems are very short and he has only 6 pages, whereas she has ten.) I obviously thought very highly of her back in 1969-70, and of course I still do. She has a marvelous gift for imagery.

This passage is illustrative of Martin's attitudes towards peotry for a number of reasons. Martin reiterates his emphasis in the selection for the anthology, and how Hébert exemplified this standard. Martin would have seemed to have tried to include as many women poets as possible, but not many at that time in French were "of that quality." Quality of the poetry would seem to trump all other considerations, including national origin. Certainly Martin maneuvered the various politics of creating an anthology on his own, according to his letter, as the Press left Martin to make all of his own decisions: "I was entirely free to do what I wanted, how to translate it and so forth…the Publishing House of the University simply trusted me." As for his philosophy of translation, Martin explains: "My approach always was and is: I am a poet, I understand poetry. I'm going to create a poem here [in translation]. A translation of a poem is not a translation if it's not a poem." Again, this would reflect his universalist view of poetry, extended to translation.

The translations themselves are, for the most part, accurate with Martin making certain slight stylistic changes for what seems to be poetic reasons. For instance, in "Certainly Someone," the first verse reads in French:

> Il y a certainement quelqu'un
> Qui m'a tuée
> Puis s'en est allé
> Sur la pointe des pieds
> Sans romper sa danse parfaite. (*Oeuvre* 44)

Martin translates the verse as follows:

> Someone certainly has
> Killed me
> Then tiptoed away
> Without interrupting his perfect dance (69)

Note how Martin translates Hébert's five lines to four lines in English, but without losing any of the accuracy of the image. This is not to say that all of Martin's choices retained an accurate image from the original French. In "Stately Home," Martin translates the words "profondes" and "amer" respectively with "roomy" and "sour" (67). In "The Big Fountains," Martin renders the line "De ma patience ancienne" as "Of my one-time patience," radically altering the original French meaning of something long lasting to something temporary. His translations of the poems "Our Hands in the Garden" and "A Wall Barely" are particularly well done. Early drafts of the two translations[56] reveal how Martin's translations evolved. One of the major changes between the drafts and the final version is the elimination wherever possible of pronouns, in an effort to preserve Hébert's economy of language. One particularly daunting line for Martin was in "A Wall Barely." where in French the line reads "Aux sombres épanchements figés." The draft shows that Martin tried the line "Dark frozen effusions/excrescences/excretions," and was satisfied with none. The line becomes "Its streams of dark pouring sap," a more specific way of creating the image of what comes out of a tree, which has been the central image of the latter half of the poem (75).

The critical response to the anthology is fairly extensive,[57] and comes from both sides of the Atlantic. In the United States, a brief review in *Choice* praises "the inclusion of French-Canadian poets" and recommends the anthology "to all libraries" (1596). Tatiana Greene reviews the anthology for *French Review* and calls Martin's translations "beautiful" (Martin Archives). She calls the anthology "most useful to readers interested in modern French poetry" and says that Martin "has done us all a great service." In the United Kingdom, *Forum for Modern Language Studies* briefly reviews the books and calls it "a good introduction to the field" while making "a welcome case for Meaning" (Martin Archives). S.I. Lockerbie reviews the anthology for *Lines Review* and praises the book extensively: "No other anthology from the English-speaking world can match the up-to-date panorama that is thus presented, while in France itself only a handful can compare, and, arguably, all but one of these are less well edited" (Martin Archives). The translations are "of a high quality" while "the professional expertise of a linguist is always evident…linked to the felicitous touch of someone whom one guesses to be a poet – or strongly attracted – to poetry himself." Ian Revie, for *Scottish International*, writes that "in most cases Mr. Martin has succeeded in catching the tone of the original very successfully…which makes this volume an extremely interesting" (Martin Archives). Martin's anthology even warranted a review from the French journal *La Quinzaine*, where Jean-Pierre Attal writes "G.D. Martin a des qualitiés de traducteur…assez exceptionnellement réunies chez un même homme…les poètes choisis sont en général excellents et assez représentatifs des tendances actuelles de la poésie française" (Martin Archives). The *Times Literary Supplement* points to the anthology's inclusion of "some French-language poets from outside France" ("Between Words" 360) while commending the translation and selection. While none of the reviewers point directly to Hébert's poetry, many of them direct the readers' attention to the somewhat unique inclusion of non-French poets in the anthology. This would lead readers to Hébert's poetry, and introduce a possibly new and different audience to her works.

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[56] A special thanks to Mr. Martin for sending me photocopies of these two drafts from his personal archives.

[57] Again, I would like to extend my thanks to Mr. Martin for sending me copies of the reviews for his anthology from his personal archives.

***Modern Verse Translations from French*, D.B. Aspinwall, 1981**

In 1981, Dorothy Brown Aspinwall edited *Modern Verse Translations from French*, published by Todd & Honeywell. Aspinwall was Emeritus Professor of European Languages and Literature at the University of Hawaii.[58] The anthology is bilingual in its format, and Aspinwall translates 36 poets, including eight from French

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[58] Interestingly, Aspinwall received her BA (1933) and her MA (1939) from the University of Alberta. Taken from http://www.catalog.hawaii.edu/00-01/2000HTML/emeriti-a.htm.

Canada. Hébert is represented by four poems: “Seascape” from *Songes en équilibre* (1944), “Presence” which is uncollected but first appeared in 1944, and “Our Hands in the Garden” and “There is Certainly Someone” both from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953). Aspinwall explains her criteria for selecting the poets in a brief Preface: “All [poets] were chosen without regard for their standing with critics…Their poems were selected because of the universality of themes: beauty, love, fear, death, life” (ix). Of Hébert, she writes: “Her suffering and her constant meditation are the wellsprings of her lyricism” (89). Aspinwall also briefly addresses the issue of translation in her Preface: “Every effort has been made to render the thought, the style, and the music as faithfully as possible” (ix). The translations themselves reflect that goal, and are both accurate and reasonably musical. In “There is Certainly Someone,” Aspinwall translates the lines “Les prunelles pareilles/À leur plus pure image d’eau” as “My eyes just like/Their purest water reflection” (97).

What is interesting about both anthologies of French poetry that feature Hébert is the way that the editors choose to introduce the anthology and their selection criteria: the universality that they feel Hébert represents. This can be seen as an important moment in the evolution of Hébert’s image as a poet. While she starts as a local, provincial writer, then expands to an identity tied into her nationality or gender, she is now introduced to readers as a poet that transcends these labels; note how she is included in both anthologies regardless of nation of origin. While French is still used as a category, it begins to push the boundaries previously set up to identify Hébert as a poet, which eventually even leads to a certain transcendence away from linguistic considerations.

Hébert as Poet

If the 1960s could loosely be categorized as the time when Hébert was being introduced as a Quebec poet, the 1970s as a Canadian poet and the 1980s as a woman poet, the 1990s saw the introduction of Hébert as simply a poet. After multiple incarnations, so to speak, as French-Canadian, Québécoise, Canadian, Woman, and French, Hébert is finally accepted into the broader literary canon called World Poetry. This move into a larger canonical framework can hardly come as a great surprise after analyzing how Hébert had been introduced and received in regards to a great majority of the anthologies, regardless of their respective political bent. Almost all indentify a "universal" quality to her poetry, pointing the reader beyond the limiting central thesis of the anthology in question. Her poetic voice would seem to have transcended the categories imposed by the anthologies, illustrated in both her flexibility to be included in multiple canons and her subsequent entry into the World Poetry canon.

The Contemporary World Poets, Donald Junkins, 1976

Four of Hébert's poems appear in translation in 1976 in *The Contemporary World Poets*, edited by Donald Junkins and published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Hébert appears under the entry for "Canada" and is the only poet included from either official language. The selected poems are "The Thin Girl," "Alchemy of Day" and "Our Hands in the Garden," translated by Alfred Poulin Jr., and "Bread is Born" translated by Maxine Kumin. Junkins is a Professor Emeritus in English at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, as well as a poet of some renown.

In his Preface, Junkins outlines his aim in selecting poets for his anthology: "We want not mere poetry, but the best poems," while making this particular selection of poetry "originate in a world we recognize as our own" (v). Junkins looked for "the best translations of the best poems of the best world poets, 1930-1970" (xxxi). As for what qualifies as the best translations, Junkins explains:

> Excellent translations of poetry must be inventive rather than duplicative: the artistic skills and awareness giving rise to the original poem should be matched in the translation, not by a language expert duplicating the literal meanings of the original text, but by someone skilled in language who reinvents in a new poem the meanings and effects of the original. The poet-translator must not merely substitute the familiar poetic qualities of the original language, but should expand the available poetic qualities of English in the way that all first-rate original poems do...The translation is more than a translation in the old sense; it is a new and exciting English poem. (xxviii)

While it remains unclear how Junkins discovered Hébert's poetry, he leaves clues as to perhaps how he came to know it. Both Norman Shapiro (who had just recently translated *Kamouraska* into English) and Alfred Poulin Jr. are specifically thanked by the editor for their "special assistance" (vi) in the preface. Junkins also mentions that he owes "special thanks to the poets who did new translations for this collection" (vii), and mentions Maxine Kumin, who translated "Bread is Born" apparently specially for this anthology.

The anthology is organized alphabetically by country of origin, placing Hébert near the beginning. Each author's poetry is preceded by a brief biographical sketch and what Junkins describes as "[my] own feelings and ideas as I loved in and around the poems...[that] may encourage the readers to open their own storehouses of perceptions and sensations to the poems" (vi). Junkins, in his biography points to the influence of Hébert's father and the symbolist and surrealists on her writing, as well as listing her three collections of poetry published thus far. As for his own feelings and ideas,

> The poems of Anne Hébert bring us to our own senses: rare touchings, colors, smells, pain. Domestic visions enshroud great

> things, and a thin voice breaks the silence like a snapping whip. Anne Hébert chooses subjects like an archeologist familiar with old terrain, and her poems lay delicate fingers on the extraordinary. Inert things come alive, and we are summoned closer to the fragmented parts of our unfamiliar selves. (26)

The four poems selected certainly reflect Junkins' impressions. Two ("The Thin Girl" and "Our Hands in the Garden") are taken from *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953) while the other two are from *Poèmes* (1960).

In *Choice*, the reviewer states that the "Junkins anthology has a fine sweeping range of poets" and that "there has been careful consideration of translations into English" (811). While not pointing to Hébert directly, the review does recommend that the anthology "should be considered a priority purchase for all academic libraries" as "[m]any of these poets will be heard from at length in the future; several almost certainly will win the Nobel Prize for literature" (811). Meanwhile, *American Poetry Review* published a particularly scathing review of the anthology, attacking in particular both the selection of poets and the poetry chosen to represent them. Hébert gets a passing, indirect reference, in regards the view that Junkins is an anglo-phobe of sorts: "In this direction, Junkins is dogged to the bitter end. Canada has only one entry; it should be noted that she's a *French* Canadian" (Young 19). Vernon Young does not recommend the anthology, and quotes a friend who wrote that Junkins "doesn't really like poetry at all" (19).

While it is almost twenty years before Hébert appears again in an anthology of world poetry, the importance of her inclusion in this anthology should not be overlooked. While it is unclear as to whether Willis Barnstone would have known of Hébert before reading this anthology, it was the anthology used by Barnstone for some of the versions of Hébert's translations included in his anthology (Barnstone Mss.). As well, a large educational publisher such as Harcourt Brace would have ensured a certain degree of exposure for the anthology, including promotion and distribution. As Junkins clearly sets his selection criteria for the anthology, Hébert is placed squarely in the tradition of poetic "excellence" placing her in a privileged position within the poetic canon, and within the Canadian poetic canon, as she is the only entry from Canada, in either language.

***The Age of Koestler*, Nicolas P. Kogon, 1994**

The next anthology to include Hébert appeared in 1994, *The Age of Koestler*, edited by Nicolas P. Kogon and published by Practices of the Wind, out of Kalamazoo, Michigan. Anne Hébert was represented by her poem "Christmas" from *Le jour n'a d'égal que la nuit*, translated by Jan Pallister. The anthology consists of "more than a thousand pages of both original poetry and translations, and prints both English and foreign texts from 17 languages including Afrikaans, Finnish and Frisian" (Dana 28). As explained by the editor himself, "the unifying theme of the anthology is the spirit of Arthur Koestler" (28), the Hungarian-born British author best known for his anti-Stalinist novel *Darkness at Noon* (1940) and his political activism, which was highly critical of the Soviet regime. Kogon describes the author as a "revolutionary, a scientific determinist, a psychologist, a mystic, and a futurist" as well as a writer whose deep divisions "reflect the deep split in the twentieth century itself" (28). Inspired by the man, Kogon spent nine years working on this project "without a cent of foundation money, without a financial angel of any kind, without a graduate degree, without the support of a university… [Kogon] created this anthology for the love of it" (29).

The anthology is divided into 28 sections; Hébert's poem is in Section 22, entitled "Tears of Our Exile." Each section begins with explanatory and translator notes in regards to the poems that will follow, while the original foreign language poems appear in a large appendix. Each contributor and translator also receives a brief biographical note at the end of the collection. Hébert is mentioned as "one of the leading French-Canadian poets" as well as the author of *Kamouraska* (1033). Pallister writes that her translation "is freer…than I usually give" (680).[59] The structure of the original French poem (free verse) would seem to lend itself to a freer translation. Pallister is fairly direct, however, in her translation and quite accurate. She chooses to change the word order in some verses in order to maintain the poem's flow in English. Overall the translation is quite successful, and maintains its haunting quality in English.

There is little to no critical reaction to this anthology, but it is an example of an anthologist presenting Hébert as a poet, alongside other "great" poets from across time and around the world. As Robert Dana states, this anthology was conceived and produced because of Kogon's "love of literature" (29). That the anthology was ever even published at all would seem to represent no small feat. That Hébert was included at all is a testament to her appeal to the editor and his hope that Hébert would speak to his readers in the same was as she had obviously spoken to him.

***World Poetry*, Kathleen Washburn, 1998**

Finally in 1998, Norton and Book-of-the-Month-Club published an anthology entitled *World Poetry: An Anthology of Verse from Antiquity to Our Time*, edited by

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[59] While her other translations are outside the scope of this study, one wonders how Pallister can translate Hébert any "freer" than in her collection *Sinuous Laces*.

Kathleen Washburn. The aim of the anthology was to provide "poems [that] are intended to be read for pleasure, not to score points. According to the editors, the anthology was to represent "a landmark of multiculturalism...by nature...rather than because it has been cut to fit an ideological pattern" (xv). Hébert's poem "The Tomb of Kings" appeared in Part VIII, "The Twentieth Century," under the sub-heading "French Poetry in Canada," alongside "Watteau, A Dream" by Emile Nelligan. The translation was done by Alfred Poulin Jr, and had previously appeared in his book, *Anne Hébert: Selected Poems*. By its inclusion, Hébert's poem had the ability to "surprise and delight the common reader" as well as the capacity to survive "in Darwinian fashion...the survival of the finest" (xv). There exists, in this context, a double choice of sorts on the part of the editors: not only were the poems judged as poems, but also as translations. In that regard, the translations were "intended to be read as good English" (xxi). Thus, through her inclusion in this anthology, Hébert's poem was immortalized as being one of the world's "finest" through Poulin's translation.

The anthology was an update of the influential 1928 anthology of the same name, edited by Mark Van Doren. The release of the 1998 version saw reviews published in the *Times Literary Supplement*, *The New Republic*, *Times Educational Supplement*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Library Journal*, and *Translation and Literature*. The reviews were generally positive, and Washburn became known for her work editing the anthology.[60] As an official Book-of-the-Month Club book, the anthology was guaranteed a great deal of exposure. And while Anne Hébert is not signaled out in either the Introduction to the anthology, or in any of the reviews, her inclusion in the anthology nonetheless would have exposed her to a number of potential readers who might not otherwise have been introduced to her writing. As a number of the reviewers mentioned, the anthology was "[c]ondusive to browsing" (Muratori 75), and would allow a reader to discover Hébert amongst the best poets of all time.

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[60] The headline for her obituary in the *New York Times* reads "Katherine Washburn, 57, Editor Known for Poetry Anthology" (Saxon B9).

Conclusion

The breadth and the depth of Anne Hébert's inclusion in various anthologies outside of Canada is an important development in terms of her image as a poet. All of her appearances in English, either in anthologies or in collections, reinforced one another in terms of Hébert's evolution into the global canon. Whether it be fellow translators collectively recommending Hébert to each other, or industrious editors scouring library shelves in search of that ellusive poet, her poetry seems to have the power to inspire these people to include her and thus disseminate her poetry to a larger audience. Each inclusion in an anthology, large or small, each review that mentions Hébert or even recommends the anthology adds another frame, another shade to her image as a poet for the English-speaking world.

Chapter Five: "The Tomb of Kings" Revisited

Hébert's "The Tomb of Kings" is perhaps her most famous poem in English. Equally renowned in French, it is the title poem to her second collection, and is a culmination of the journey taken by the female protagonist throughout the volume. "Le Tombeau des rois" also contains all the symbolic and poetic elements that characterize Hébert's poetry: the heart, bones, death, economy of language, etc. making it an excellent representation of the poet's larger body of work. The poem's popularity in English stems partially from *Dialogue sur la traduction* with F.R. Scott, which focused on the translation of the work. Scott may not have been the first to translate the poem (that honor goes to John Glassco, see Godbout) but he certainly was not the last. In this chapter we will examine the various published translations of Hébert's celebrated poem into English. Both Peter Miller and Alan Brown held their own "dialogues" regarding to the translation of the poem: Miller with editor and friend Louis Dudek and Brown with Hébert herself. The first section will look at both dialogues and their impact on the final translation. While no such dialogue exists for Kathleen Weaver and Alfred Poulin Jr., they both acknowledge the influence of the original *Dialogue* on their translations. The second section will analyze the possible influence of *Dialogue* on their final versions. Finally, since neither Willis Barnstone nor Janis Pallister would seem to have consulted the *Dialogue*, the third section will simply compare their final versions with those that have come before. In all, seven different versions, including Scott's, will be analyzed here, with all of the variety and insight such a comparison can bring.

A New Series of Dialogues: Miller and Dudek

In his introduction to his translation of *The Tomb of Kings*, Miller writes: "To my fellow-editor and good friend Louis Dudek I offer my best thanks for having studied the translations in minute detail, and for his resulting suggestions towards corrections of errors and improvements of language. A great many of his recommendations have been adopted in the final versions" (12). Dudek, in his feedback dated May 23, 1965, points Miller to Scott and Hébert's dialogue in *Tamarack Review* in an aside at the beginning of his comments on the poem "The Tomb of Kings":

> Don't forget that [Scott] has consulted Anne Hébert on many points. Have you checked both his translations of his correspondence with A-H published in Tamarack Review? Any differences between our versions and Scott's – in the sense of the words – must be confirmed by superior research or consultation with the author. Otherwise you will be caught wrong where the means to correct reading was available to you. (Contact Press Records)

Dudek places the emphasis on being able to consult with the author as a resource in order to create an accurate translation. Miller agrees, and at the top of his annotated and corrected manuscript, he writes to Dudek: "Some of these changes result from your own excellent suggestions; others from AH's own explanations in Tamarack" (Dudek Fonds). In the spirit of *Dialogue*, the following is a re-creation of the more salient points of the conversation between Dudek and Miller about "The Tomb of Kings." The information is taken from the Contact Press Records, letter dated May 23, 1965, and the Louis Dudek Fonds, letter dated June 4, 1965. The layout followed here will mirror the format used in *Dialogue*, starting with the original line in French, then as translated by Miller, followed by Dudek's comments, then Miller's, and finishing with Miller's final translation of the line.

Line 3: Le taciturne oiseau pris à mes doigts
Trans: With the taciturn bird captive at my fingers
LD: "Pris à mes doigts" must mean there that the bird is "gripping my fingers" (I've just confirmed this from F.R. Scott's translation.)
PM: Yes, as you point out, Anne H explains "pris à" in Tamarack. Apart from a wish to avoid crass imitation, I think maybe taking has the edge over gripping, as it is a closer translation of prends and has the double sense of catching and holding.
Final Trans: "With the taciturn bird taking my fingers"

Line 4: Lampe gonflée de vin et de sang
Trans: Lamp swollen with wine and with blood
LD: Read "A lamp swollen..." In English this apposition would require an article: and it is the bird who is a lamp.
Final Trans: A lamp swollen with wine and with blood

Line 7: Étonnée
Trans: Astonished
LD: Astonished could be "Myself surprised" to make clear that it is not the kings who are astonished or surprised. (The French of course is clear; i.e. "myself" would correspond to this inflection)
Final Trans: Astonished

Line 10: Au long des dédales sourds?
Trans: Along the dulled labyrinths?
LD: "Through the silent labyrinths?" Dulled is not so good.
PM: I can't help using FRS's muted, it is the only good word.
Final Trans: "Along the muted labyrinths?"

Line 13-14: Cette enfant fut-elle liée par la cheville/Pareille à une esclave fascinée?
Trans: Was that child bound by the ankle/Like a fascinated slave?
LD: Possibly "Like a slave in fascination" or "Like an astonished slave" (better) – if you have not used "astonished" in line 7.
Final Trans: Was this child bound by her ankle/Like a fascinated slave?

Line 16-17: Presse le fil,/Et viennent les pas nus
Trans: Presses on the thread/And the naked footsteps come
LD: "Pulls on the thread" might be just as correct for "presse" – and more apt.
PM: If AH had intended pulls she would have said tire. Accuracy demands presses for presse – one can picture it – by pressing on the thread the footsteps are made to come. [Miller provides two sketches to make his point]
Final Trans: Presses on the thread/So come the naked footsteps

Line 22: Suinte sous le pas des portes
Trans: Oozes under the doorsteps
LD: "Leaks at the sill of doors" might be better. I do not see odours "oozing"; thought it is better than "sweating." Leaks is also a dictionary equivalent for suinte.
PM: Leaking at the doors would be very uncouth manners? You're right. Larousse says "le pas de la porte" is seuil, or sill, not a step. Thanks.
Final Trans: Seeps from the sills of the doors

Line 23: Aux chambres secrètes et rondes
Trans: By the secret round rooms
LD: Why "By"? These are the doors of rooms in the Tombeau des Rois. Say – "Of the round and secret rooms" (or chambers).
Final Trans: Of the rooms, secret and round

Line 24: Là où sont dressés les lits clos
Trans: Where the sealed beds are poised
PM: AH explains about the beds. FRS could not improve on closed but I hope enclosed brings out her meaning more clearly.
Final Trans: Where the enclosed beds are arrayed

Line 25: L'immobile désir des gisants me tire
Trans: The unmoving desire of the effigies draws me
LD: "The stilled desire" would be wonderful for "l'immobile désire." How about – "The stilled desire of the dwellers draws me" (Why call them "effigies"? She is thinking of them as quite aware, ghosts in fact)
PM: Gisant is (Larousse) "une statue d'un personnage rendré." Therefore the representation draws her not the body inside.
Final Trans: The still desire of the effigies draws me

Line 26-27: Je regarde avec étonnement/À même les noirs ossements
Trans: I look with astonishment/As upon the black bones
LD: "As even on the black bones" (Je regarde at line 26 might be enforced with I gaze)
PM: Still and gaze are two fine suggestions. Thanks. AH's own explanation satisfies me that "as upon black bones" gets her image across. À même here is purely positional, not emphatic, so I have thought best to simplify. No - changed my mind to "as set on the black bones" - deliberate ambiguity.
Final Trans: I gaze with astonishment/As set on the black bones

Line 30: Sur la poitrine des rois, couchées

Trans: On the breast of the kings, laid out
PM: For couchées I am much tempted to use displayed. Only a frenzy for strict accuracy prevents me.
Final Trans: On the breast of the kings, laid out

Line 31: En guise de bijoux
Trans: By way of jewels
LD: "en guise" – "by way" is weak. "In the form of jewels." "In the guise of jewels."
Final Trans: In the guise of jewels

Line 37: Offrande rituelle et soumise
Trans: Ritual and submissive offering
LD: The "and" could be omitted: "Ritual submissive offering"
Final Trans: Ritual and submissive offering

Line 44: Semblable au vent qui prend, d'arbre en arbre
Trans: Like the wind that catches, from tree to tree
LD: "Like the wind that lifts/stirs, from tree to tree" better?
PM: Surely catches is exact for prend. Stirs doesn't have the same connotation. Incidentally, AH points out the relationship to fire which prend (catches).
Final Trans: Like the wind that catches, from tree to tree

Line 45: Agite sept grands pharaons d'ébène
Trans: Stirs seven great ebony pharaohs
LD: "~~Disturbs~~ ~~Touches~~ Shakes (Yes!) seven great pharaohs of ebony"
PM: Shakes is too violent a word for agite
Final Trans: Stirs seven great ebony pharaohs

Line 46: En leurs étuis solennels et parés
Trans: In their solemn ornate caskets
LD: "In their solemn ornate tombs" for rhythm.
PM: (étuis) AH points outs that these boxes or cases fit neatly, following the shape inside.
Final Trans: In their solemn ornate casings

Line 51: En un cliquetis léger de bracelets
Trans: In a light tinkling of bracelets
PM: FRS has "tinkle" (one tinkle) but I see the racket as being continuous – hence tinkling.
Final Trans: In a light tinkling of bracelets

Line 52: Cercles vains jeux d'ailleurs
Trans: Vain rings games of elsewhere

> LD: "Vain rings elsewhere games"
> Final Trans: Vain rings games of elsewhere
>
> Line 53: Autour de la chair sacrifiée
> Trans: Around the sacrificed flesh
> LD: "About the flesh once sacrificed." (This would be entirely true to the original: "once" simply emphasizes the fr. tense)
> Final Trans: Around the sacrificed flesh
>
> Line 54: Avides de la source fraternelle de mal en moi
> Trans: Thirsty for the brotherly source of evil in me
> PM: AH says "avide" is more general than thirsty (or hungry)
> Final Trans: Craving the brotherly source of evil in me
>
> Line 56: Sept fois, je connais l'étau des os
> Trans: Seven times, I know the vice of bones
> LD: "Vice" is to ambiguous in English. How about "the vice-press of bones," "the screw-press"?
> PM: American usage permits spelling vise for the tool, thus enabling avoidance of ambiguity of vice.
> Final Trans: Seven times, I know the vise of bones
>
> Line 59: Les membres dénoués
> Trans: My limbs unknotted
> PM: AH explains this sense of dénoués
> Final Trans: My limbs unfettered
>
> Line 61: Quel reflet d'aube s'égare ici?
> Trans: What gleam of dawn strays here?
> PM: FRS again. All honor to him.
> Final Trans: What glimmer of dawn strays here?

Louis Dudek's remarks about the poem conclude as follows: "A fantastic poem of entry into 'death's other kingdom.'" Miller adds his own concluding paragraph to the end of his annotated and corrected version of "The Tomb of Kings":

> This is undoubtedly AH's greatest poem. Difficult even in French, but worth the challenge. Of course, Frank Scott's translation is so superb that a new one is not needed, but one has to be made for presentation of the book in its entirety. And I have hazarded a version which does differ from his in some respects. The purpose is not competitive, but purely towards a definitive version in English for which he is mainly responsible, with additions of your thoughts and mine.

What is interesting here is Miller's mixture of resources: Dudek, Scott's translations, Hébert's comments, as well as Miller's own aesthetic preferences. He certainly does create his own version of the poem in English.

One of the interesting aspects of the dialogue between Miller and Dudek is Miller's reinterpretations of some of Hébert's comments. Often following Hébert's advice to Scott, Miller nonetheless makes many of his own word choices when it comes to his version. For example, for the line "pris à mes doigts," he acknowledges Hébert's explanation, but chooses "taking my fingers" instead of Scott's gripping, which Dudek had also suggested. In the case of the translation of the line "Presse le fil," Miller defends Hébert's intentions to Dudek, and keeps the more literal translation of "Presses on the thread." In mentioning this example, it is also interesting to note the balance Miller strikes between his own voice and Dudek's suggestions. Many of Dudek's suggestions would seem to try to preserve a greater degree of Hébert's economy of language, while Miller's style is slightly wordier than Hébert's original French. One exception would be Dudek's suggestion to translate the line "Étonnée" as "Myself surprised," while, without comment, Miller remains close to the original text by simply translating the line as "Astonished." One also notices in Miller's comments and translation, his "frenzy for accuracy," as he calls it. With no obvious mistakes, Miller certainly provides an accurate, if wordy, translation of "The Tomb of Kings."

***Dialogue* Take Two: Brown and Hébert**

In his review of Alan Brown's *Poems*, David Walker writes: "When Frank Scott translated the poem 'Tombeau des rois,' Anne Hébert responded in detail. It would be interesting to know her reactions to this fine translation of the work of one of Canada's most outstanding poets" (39). We can. On April 22, 1975, Hébert wrote to Brown with detailed comments in regards to the first half of his manuscript for *Poems*, which included the poem, "The Tomb of Kings." On May 17, 1975, Brown responded to Hébert and provides a further list of comments and questions. The letters are found in the Brown Fonds at the University of Calgary. The copy of Brown's letter to Hébert is also heavily annotated, indicating a possible meeting between the two to discuss his translations. What follows is their discussion along with the original and final version of Brown's translation, and wherever relevant, the annotations Brown later added to the letter.

> Line 1: J'ai mon coeur au poing
> Trans: Perched on my wrist my heart
> AH: Je n'aime pas beaucoup le mot "perched" qui me parait trop prosaïc et compromet ainsi le début du poème. Le mot "hart" [sic] vient trop tard, en fin de ligne, ce qui fausse l'idée originale d'un départ immédiat avec "le coeur au poing."
> AB: If I translate literally "I have my heart on my wrist" it's an incredibly clumsy construction, but there is no way in English of avoiding the annoying repetition of "my" if I follow your construction. Poing, of course, is fist, not wrist, and sounds indeed prosaic in English. Perched, on the other hand is fairly elegant (according to my own impressions) and the metaphor gains even in surprise by having "heart" in its middle rather than at the beginning. I'd like to keep this as it stands.
> Annotation: ?
> Final Trans: Perched on my wrist, my heart
>
> Line 3: Le taciturne oiseau pris à mes doigts
> Trans: The taciturn bird held in my fingers
> AH: Le mot "held" parait faible pour signifier que l'oiseau est pris, agrippé avec ses serres aux doigts qui le portent.
> AB: You're right: this should read "The taciturn bird clutching my fingers."
> Annotation: OK
> Final Trans: The taciturn bird clutching my fingers
>
> Line 9: Quel fil d'Ariane me mène
> Trans: What Ariadne's thread guides me

AH: Il me semble que "guide" fait un peu trop touristique? N'y-a-t-il pas un autre mot en anglais pout signifier cela?
AB: Virgil was Dante's guide, that is the word used, and it becomes a tourist word only in a touristic context. I think your context is so classical that no reader would think of the guide bleue.
Annotation: [paragraph stuck through] "draws me"
Final Trans: What Ariadne's thread draws me

Line 24: Là où sont dressés les lits clos
Trans: Where the enclosed resting-places rise
AH: En français "lits clos" désigne un type très particulier de lit breton, une sorte d'alcôve se fermant comme une armoire. "Enclosed resting-places" rend très bien cette idée.
AB: Is not designed to change text – we agree.
Final Trans: Where the enclosed resting-places rise

Line 25: L'immobile désir des gisants me tire
Trans: The still desire of the sleepers draws me on
AH: Les gisants sont des statues de pierre représentant des personnages nobles et que l'on plaçait sur leurs tombeaux. Le mot "sleepers" est faible et ne rend pas cette idée de statues funéraires et ne donne aucune impression de rigidité et de pierre. Ceci est pourtant très important pour la compréhension de tout le poème "Le Tombeau des rois" qui est une lutte contre le désir de mort. "The still desire" ne convient guère plus, me semble-t-il. En français il n'est pas question de personnages vivants et endormis qui désirent encore, mais de statues de pierre qui représentent la mort. Ce sont les morts qui appellent les vivants. C'est la tentation de la mort (éprouvée par les vivants) qui s'échappe des statues allongées dans la rigidité de la mort.
AB: Still means immobile, desire is desire, but perhaps something can be done...I knew exactly what you meant here, and perhaps I haven't succeeded. How about: "The still desire of the stone sleepers draws me on."
But: the line gets much longer and clumsier than yours, which I've tried to avoid, in general. Again, the word "sleepers" demands more of the reader than "gisants" but I think anyone likely to read the poem would know, even from my original line, that the desire is no human desire, that it is an attraction exercised on the human by the dead, especially as the next line but one talks of black bones...
Final Trans: The still desire of the stone sleepers draws me on

Line 37: Offrande rituelle et soumise
Trans: A humble ritual offering

AH: "humble ritual". Il ne s'agit pas d'humilité, mais de soumission passive et fascinée.
AB: I agree with you. Humble is the wrong word. Suggested new line 37: "~~Resigned;~~ a passive ritual offering."
Final Trans: A humble ritual offering

Line 40: L'ombre de l'amour me maquille à petits traits précis
Trans: The shadow of love makes-up my face with tiny careful strokes
AH: "Makes up" est trop moderne, trop ordinaire. N'y-a-il pas un autre mot pour évoquer ce maquillage très spécial? "Tiny" est trop gentil, alors qu'il s'agit d'une façon aïgue et sans pitié de procéder.
AB: Instead of "makes up" (there is no word for it, precisely) I could say "paints" – how would it look? "The shadow of love paints my face with careful needle-strokes."
But it seems here you're asking for more precision of the translation than you demand of yourself: petits traits précis does not suggest more than care to me, hardly "sans pitié" ...and tiny does not have to be a child's word...
Annotation: [Second section struck though]
Final Trans: The shadow of love paints my face with careful needle-strokes

Line 56:[61] Ils me couche et me boivent
Trans: They make me to lie down, they drink of me
AH: "They drink of me" est moins fort et moins direct que "They drink me"?
AB: "Drink of me": the rhythm, when read aloud is clumsy without "of." Unless the sense if that "I" am drunk out of existence, drunk completely dry and disappear in the process, drink me would be wrong, as it implies drinking dry.
Annotation: [Entire section struck through]
Final Trans: They lay me down, they drink me

Line 57: Sept fois, je connais l'étau des os
Trans: Seven times I feel the tightening vice of bones
AH: "Vice" me parait un peu trop technique. Il s'agit de donner une impression d'étouffement.
AB: Again, it seems you ask more of the translation than of the original: an Étau is a vice, and in neither language is it a device for smothering, a process for which bones are less adapted than feather

---

[61] There are two different versions of the original French poem. Line 41 in the original version reads "Et cet oiseau que j'ai respire" while the version found in *Poèmes* reads "Et cet oiseau que j'ai/respire." This causes some of the translations to have an "extra line," as the French version they are working from had changed.

> pillows. As it's bones going to work in both cases, and as for you they make an étau, I don't see why they shouldn't make a vice for me.
> Annotation: Stet
> Final Trans: Seven times I feel the tightening vice of bones
>
> Line 60: Les membres dénoués
> Trans: My knees disjointed
> AH: "Les membres dénoués" cela veut dire que les membres se sont débarrassés et libérés de l'éreinte des morts et non que les genoux sont désarticulés et disloqués.
> AB: Good. Thank you! Suggested new line: "My limbs set free"
> Annotation: OK – Example of what only author knows.
> Final trans: My limbs set free

Brown concludes his letter to Hébert as follows:

> I think your remarks and mine about the translation indicate some differences of temperament, and as the point of the exercise is to translate Anne Hébert and not to do an adaptation (I don't trust either the word or the process in most cases) I was delighted to have your explanations and comments. I think in some of them your fears were caused by a one or two dimensional knowledge of English, which has many dimensions beyond those one learns in a casual way, even with a good command of it. But most of your comments were real enlightenment for me. I hope we may see each other in Paris before the book reaches a frozen stage.

It is interesting to note as well that Brown would seem to have been preparing his versions of "The Tomb of Kings" and the comments for publication in some format; the last two pages of his letter to Hébert, along with the pages of the manuscript that contain the poem are numbered separately in handwriting, while Hébert's comments (which appear over two pages in the original letter to Brown) are consolidated onto one page.

Brown mentions in his notes that the relationship between the author and the translator is that of "adversaires," and one certainly gets the impression that Brown treats Hébert to a certain extent as an adversary, given the tone and content of his comments, especially in comparison to Scott's. In particular, one can look at Brown's translation of the first line, and his attempt to "improve" the metaphor by having the word "heart" appear at the end of the line. Or when he seemingly takes the author to task for her suggesting that perhaps "vice" was the wrong word to use in line 56/57. More interesting, however, is what Hébert does not say: note how Brown nowhere identifies the protagonist of the poem as female, and Hébert does not mention the omission in her comments. It is hard to tell if the translation would have been better had Brown yielded on more of Hébert's suggestions. He does create a translation that is unique to his voice, but it is debatable if he indeed "translated Anne Hébert" instead of an Alan Brown adaptation.

Using *Dialogue*: Kathleen Weaver

At the end of Weaver's translation of "The Tomb of Kings," she leaves the following translator's note: "I am indebted to the interchange between Anne Hébert and F.R. Scott on the subject of Mr Scott's translation of this poem in *Tamarack Review*, August 1962" (*Penguin* 358). It is unclear how Weaver discovered the dialogue (which had appeared at this point as a book), although Scott does acknowledge Hébert's input into the translations in the Translator's Note in *St-Denys Garneau and Anne Hébert* (1962), which was available in the Berkeley library. Weaver did, however, consider a great number of the recommendations, and even improved the poem in certain areas using the feedback from Hébert. The chart below compares Weaver's translation with Scott's "Version Two," the version that Weaver would have had access to in *Tamarack Review* (Scott's third version was exclusive to *Dialogue*, although neither version appears in *St-Denys Garneau and Anne Hébert*, which I have included in column three). Underlined are those sections in Weaver's poems in which she recreates the poem according to Hébert's suggestions; highlighted are those that would seem to be taken from Scott's version in *St-Denys Garneau and Anne Hébert*; bolded are those sections that improve on Scott's version, as per Hébert's suggestions; and finally italicized are those sections where Weaver chose to ignore Hébert, going so far as to change the poem.

Weaver	**Scott "Version Two"**	**Scott *St-Denys Garneau...***
I have my heart on my fist Like a blind falcon	I bear my heart on my fist Like a blind falcon.	I have my heart on my fist Like a blind falcon.
Taciturn bird gripping my fingers Lamp swollen with wine and blood, I descend Towards the tomb of the kings Astonished Barely born	The taciturn bird held on my fingers A swollen lamp of wine and blood I go down Toward the tomb of kings Astonished Scarcely born	The taciturn bird gripping my fingers A swollen lamp of wine and blood I go down Toward the tombs of the kings Astonished Scarcely born
What thread of Ariadne *Leads me through muted labyrinths* The echoing steps **are swallowed** as they fall	What Ariadne-thread leads me Along the muted labyrinths? The echo of my steps fades away as they fall	What Ariadne-thread leads me Along the muted labyrinths? The echo of my steps fades away as they fall
(In what dream Was this child tied by her ankle Like a fascinated slave?)	(In what dream Was this child tied by her ankle Like a fascinated slave?)	(In what dream Was this child tied by her ankle Like a fascinated slave?)
The maker of the dream **Draws** on the thread *And the naked footfalls come* *One by one* Like the first drops of rain In the hold of the well	The maker of the dream Presses on the cord, Then come the naked steps One by one Like the first drops of rain In the bottom of the well	The maker of the dream Presses on the cord, Drawing the naked steps One by one Like the first drops of rain In the bottom of the well

Already the odour stirs in swollen storms **Sweats under door-sills** Of secret, round chambers, There, where **curtained** beds are **raised**.	Already the odour stirs in swollen storms Seeps under the edges of the doors Of chambers secret and round, Where the closed beds are laid out.	Already the odour stirs in swollen storms Seeps under the edges of the doors Of chambers secret and round, Where the closed beds are laid out.
The **still desire of reclining kings** *Leads me* I **see**, astonished, On the black bones gleam Blue **inlaid** stones.	The motionless desire of the recumbent dead draws me I behold with astonishment Encrusted upon black bones The blue stones gleaming	The motionless desire of the recumbent dead lures me. I behold with astonishment Encrusted upon black bones The blue stones gleaming
A few tragedies, patiently wrought, Laid on the breast of kings *Are offered me* *In the guise of jewels* With no regrets, no tears.	A few tragedies patiently wrought Lying on the breasts of kings As if they were jewels Are offered me Without tears or regrets.	A few tragedies patiently wrought Lying on the breasts of kings As if they were jewels Are offered me Without tears or regrets.
In a single line arrayed: Smoke of incense, the cake of dried rice And my flesh, **trembling**: **Obedient, ritual** offering.	In a single rank arrayed: The smoke of incense, the cake of dried rice, And my flesh, which trembles: A ceremonial and submissive offering.	In a single rank arrayed: The smoke of incense, the cake of dried rice, And my flesh, which trembles: A ceremonial and submissive offering.
Gold mask on my absent face Violet flowers for eyes, Love's shadow paints me with **small, sure strokes**; And this bird I have breathes And *cries* strangely.	A gold mask on my absent face Violet flowers for eyes, The shade of love paints me in small sharp strokes; And this bird I have breathes And complains strangely.	A gold mask on my absent face Violet flowers for eyes, The shade of love paints me in small sharp strokes; And this bird I have breathes And complains strangely.

A long shudder Like wind that **lifts** from tree to tree *Moves* the seven great ebony pharaohs In their solemn, ornate **encasings**.	A long tremor Like a wind rising, from tree to tree, Shakes the seven tall ebony Pharaohs In their stately and ornate cases.	A long tremor Like a wind rising, from tree to tree, Shakes the seven tall ebony Pharaohs In their stately and ornate cases.
It is only the profundity of death that persists, Simulating the **last** torment Seeking its appeasement And its eternity In a light clicking of bracelets Vain hoops, alien games Circling the sacrificed flesh.	It is only the profundity of death which persists, Simulating the ultimate torment Seeking its appeasement And its eternity In a faint tinkle of bracelets Vain rings, alien games Around the sacrificed flesh.	It is only the profundity of death which persists, Simulating the ultimate torment Seeking its appeasement And its eternity In a faint tinkle of bracelets Vain rings, alien games Around the sacrificed flesh.
Avid for the fraternal source of evil in me They lay me down and drink: Seven times I know the **vise** of bones And the dry hand that seeks my heart to break it.	Greedy for the fraternal source of evil in me They lay me down and drink me; Seven times I know the tight grip of the bones And the dry hand seeking my heart to break it.	Greedy for the fraternal source of evil in me They lay me down and drink me; Seven times I know the tight grip of the bones And the dry hand seeking my heart to break it.
Livid, **gorged** with the horrible dream My limbs **unlocked** And the dead, thrust out of me, assassinated, What **faint glint** of dawn strays here? Why then does this bird shiver And turn toward morning Its blinded eyes?	Livid and satiated with the horrible dream My limbs untied And the dead out of me, assassinated, What glimmer of dawn strays in here? Wherefore does this bird quiver And turn toward morning Its burst pupils?	Livid and satiated with the horrible dream My limbs freed And the dead thrust out of me, assassinated, What glimmer of dawn strays in here? Wherefore does this bird quiver And turn toward morning Its blinded eyes?

Weaver would seem to have taken into consideration both of Scott's versions of the poems, as well as adding her own improvements. Note how Weaver, as in the previous translations of Hébert's poems, eliminates in most instances pronouns and conjunctions, preserving Hébert's economy of language, something that Scott does not do. In only two instances does Weaver directly contradict what Hébert suggests to Scott in the dialogue. Lines 17-18 in the original version read "Et viennent les pas nus/ Un à un" and Hébert insists that that particular inversion be preserved (*Dialogue* 61). Weaver chooses to maintain the more natural sounding English "And the naked footfalls come/ One by one" (357), much as Scott had in his original translation for *Dialogue*. In lines 45-46, Hébert explains, "Les pharaons sont remués par le vent qui passe. Il ne s'agit pas de dérangement intérieur, moral. Ils bougent comme de grands arbres que le vent agite en passant" (*Dialogue* 74). Weaver chooses to use to the word "moves," which is less suggestive than Scott's original "troubles," but still carried the double implication of both physical and moral disturbance. Outside of these two examples, the other significant changes that conflict with the original poem are Weaver's choices to break apart lines. Overall, Weaver's example provides valuable insight in how a translator can incorporate existing translations with her own style, creating a unique translation.

Using *Dialogue* and Others: Alfred Poulin, Jr

In his Selected Bibliography at the end of *Anne Hébert: Selected Poems*, Poulin lists six other translations of Hébert's poetry (Scott, Miller, *Poetry of French Canada*, Brown, Cogswell, and Barnstone), excluding his own, as well as the *Dialogue* (147-48). This would have given Poulin at least four different translations of "The Tomb of Kings," not even counting the many different versions done by Scott. Between the appearance of Poulin's translations in *Quarterly Review of Literature* in 1980 and the subsequent publication of *Selected Poems* in 1987, Poulin only made one change to his translation of "The Tomb of Kings": in the last line of the poem, "crevées" goes from being translated as "punctured" to "gouged." As the next section will concern itself with the Barnstone translation of the poem in question, what follows is a comparison between Scott's "third version" from *Dialogue*, Miller's version and Brown's version with Poulin's translation.

Poulin	**Scott**	**Miller**	**Brown**
My heart's on my fist Like a blind falcon	I carry my heart on my fist Like a blind falcon	I have my heart on my fist Like a blind flacon	Perched on my wrist, my heart, Like a blind falcon.
This taciturn bird gripping my fingers Lamp swollen with wine and blood I go down Towards the tomb of kings Amazed Barely born	The taciturn bird gripping my fingers A swollen lamp of wine and blood I go down Toward the tomb of kings Astonished Scarcely born.	With the taciturn bird taking my fingers A lamp swollen with wine and blood, I go down Toward the tomb of Kings Astonished Scarcely born.	The taciturn bird clutching my fingers Lamp swollen with wine and blood, I go down Toward the tomb of kings Astonished, Barely born.
What Ariadne's thread leads me Through the muffled labyrinths? Echoes of footsteps swallow themselves	What Ariadne-thread leads me Along the muted labyrinths? The echo of my steps fades away as they fall.	What thread of Ariadne leads me Along the muted labyrinths? The echo of footfall is swallowed there step by step.	What Ariadne's thread draws me Along thudding labyrinths? Echoes of footsteps are swallowed as they fall.
(In what dream Was this child's ankle bound Like a spellbound slave?)	(In what dream Was this child tied by her ankle Like a fascinated slave?)	(In what dream Was this child bound by her ankle Like a fascinated slave?)	(In what dream What this child tied by the ankle Like some fascinated slave?)
The author of the dream Pulls the thread And naked steps start coming One by one Like the first drops of rain At the bottom of wells.	The maker of the dream Presses on the cord And my naked footsteps come One by one Like the first drops of rain At the bottom of the well.	The author of the dream Presses on the thread, So come the naked footsteps, One by one Like the first drops of rain At the bottom of the well.	The author of the dream Tugs at the thread And naked feet are heard One by one Like the first drops of rain In a well's depth.
The smell already stirs in swollen storms, Oozes under the doorsills Into the round and secret rooms Where the walled-in beds are raised. The dead's torpid desire	Already the odour stirs in swollen storms Seeps under the edges of the doors Of chambers secret and round Where the closed beds are laid out The motionless desire of	Already the odour stirs in swollen storms Seeps from the sills of doors Of the rooms, secret and round, Where the enclosed beds are arrayed. The still desire of the	Already the smell is moving in swollen storms Oozes under the sills of doors Into round secret rooms Where the enclosed resting-places rise. The still desire of the

tugs at me. Astonished I watch The blue encrusted stones Shine among black bones.	the sculpted dead draws me. I behold with astonishment Encrusted upon the black bones The blue stones gleaming.	effigies draws me. I gaze with astonishment As set on the black bones Shine the encrusted stones.	stone sleepers draws me on. I see astonished In the black bones themselves The glow of blue encrusted stone.
A few patiently wrought tragedies On the breasts of reclining kings Are offered to me Like jewels Without regret or tears.	A few tragedies patiently wrought Lying on the breasts of kings As if they were jewels Are offered me Without tears or regrets.	Several tragedies patiently wrought, On the breasts of the kings, laid out In the guise of jewels Are offered to me Without tears or regrets.	A few tragedies patiently fashioned On the chests of supine kings In place of jewels These are offered me Without regret or tears.
In one straight line: The smoke of incense, dried rice cakes And my trembling flesh: Humble and ritual offering.	In single rank arrayed: The smoke of incense, the cake of dried rice And my flesh which trembles: A ceremonial and submissive offering.	Ranged in a single row: The smoke of incense, the cake of dried rice And my trembling flesh: Ritual and submissive offering.	Ranged in a row: Smoke of the incense, rice-cakes dried And my trembling flesh: A humble ritual offering.
A gold mask on my absent face, Violet flowers for my eyes, The shadow of love, precise little lines of my make-up. And this bird I have Breathes And complains strangely.	A gold mask on my absent face Violet flowers for eyes, The shade of love paints me in small sharp strokes And this bird I have breathes And complains strangely.	The golden mask on my absent face Violet flowers by way of eyes The shadow of love makes me up with precise little strokes And this bird of mine breathes And sobs strangely.	The mask of gold upon my absent face Violet flowers for pupils The shadow of love pains my face with careful needle-strokes; And this bird I have Breathes loudly Raising its strange complaint.
A long shiver Like the wind catching from tree to tree Stirs seven great ebony Pharaohs In their solemn decorated cases.	A long tremor Like a wind sweeping from tree to tree, Shakes the seven tall ebony Pharoahs In their stately and ornate cases.	A long shiver Like the wind that catches, from tree to tree, Stirs seven great ebony pharaohs In their solemn ornate casings.	A long shudder Like the wind catching tree after tree Shakes seven great ebony Pharaohs In their solemn gilded cases.
Only the depth of death	It is only the profundity	It is only the depth of	It is but the last fathom

persists, Simulating the final agony Seeking its appeasement And its eternity In a thin clash of bracelets, Vain circles of foreign games Around the sacrificed flesh.	of death which persists, Simulating the ultimate torment Seeking its appeasement And its eternity In a faint tinkle of bracelets Vain rings, alien games Around the sacrificed flesh.	death that persists, Feigning the last torment Seeks its appeasement And its eternity In a light tinkling of bracelets Vain ring games of elsewhere Around the sacrificed flesh.	of death persisting Miming a final torment Seeking relief And its own eternity In a soft clatter of bracelets Vain playthings from elsewhere Circling the sacrificed flesh.
Avid for the fraternal source of evil in me, They lay me down and drink me: Seven times I feel the grip of bones, The dry hand hunting my heart to break it.	Greedy for the fraternal source of evil in me They lay me down and drink me; Seven times I know the tight grip of bones And the dry hand seeking my heart to break it.	Craving the brotherly source of evil in me They lay me down and drink me; Seven times, I know the vise of bones And the dry hand that seeks the heart to break it.	Hungry for the fraternal source of evil in me They lay me down, they drink me; Seven times I feel the tightening vice of bones And the dry hand seeking my heart to crush it.
Livid and satiated with foul dreams, My limbs freed And the dead thrown out of me, assassinated, What reflection of dawn wanders in here? Why does this bird shiver And turn toward dawn Its gouged eyes?	Livid and satiated with the horrible dream My limbs freed And the dead thrust out of me, assassinated, What glimmer of dawn strays in here? Wherefore does this bird quiver And turn toward morning Its blinded eyes?	Livid and gorged on horrible dream My limbs unfettered And the dead outside me, assassinated, What glimmer of dawn strays here? How is it then that this bird trembles And turns towards the morning Its blinded eyes?	Livid and stated from a horrid dream My limbs set free And the dead out of me, assassinated What glimmer of dawn is this, wandering lost? How comes it that this bird Trembles and turns towards morning His punctured eyes?

One of the most striking features of Poulin's translation is his attempt to recreate Hébert's economy of language, in part by using contractions, such as in line one where he uses "heart's." The first verse where Poulin begins to truly assert his voice, while seemingly incorporating the different versions of the poem, along with Hébert's comments, is in the third verse. Scott, in his second version, uses "muffled" for "sourds," which Poulin decides to use. Also, when trying to translate the challenging line "L'écho des pas s'y mange à mesure," Poulin manages to convey the idea of "complicité" that Hébert talks about to Scott by translating the line "Echoes of footsteps swallow themselves," as well as maintaining the relatively short length of the line. In verse five, however, Poulin would seem to choose to ignore a number of Hébert's suggestions to Scott. Instead of "pressing" the thread, as Hébert suggests, Pouling chooses to use "pulls" which is much more active than Hébert intended: "*presse* indique un geste très discret" (*Dialogue* 61). Poulin also ignores Hébert's insistence on word order in the next line, "Et viennent les pas nus" by translating it as "And the naked steps start coming." Poulin also makes the same mistake that Scott made in verse eight by translating the kings as reclining, rather than the tragedies. He does not, however, correct the mistake, as Scott does at the advice of Hébert. In verse eleven, Poulin manages, like Miller, to invoke the image of fire that Hébert refers to in *Dialogue* and thus translates the line "Semblable au vent qui prend, d'arbre en arbre" as "Like the wind catching from tree to tree." Poulin chooses to ignore Hébert when he uses the word "agony" to translate "tourment," as Hébert explains: "*The last agony* est beaucoup plus définitif et médical que *dernier tourment* qui demeure plus moral" (*Dialogue* 75).

Once again in this example, we see a translator incorporating his own voice with the voices of many other translators and the voice of the author herself. What we see, however, as we do with Brown, is that the choices the translator makes often run in direct opposition to the advice of the author. We begin to see the definite assertion of the translators' increasingly assertive voice in the translation process. It would appear in many of the cases, and in opposition to Scott, Miller and Weaver, Brown and Poulin do not show the same deference to the author. This would seem to reflect both the changing attitudes towards translation more generally and a recognition of the relative autonomy of the translator.

A Better Version: Barnstone

When I interviewed Willis Barnstone regarding his selection for the anthology *A Book of Women Poets*, he expressed his displeasure at the quality of the translations of Hébert's poetry. In this particular circumstance, Barnstone was talking about Brown's translations, as he admitted not knowing of any other existing translations, nor of the existence of Hébert and Scott's *Dialogue*. He enjoyed the challenge Hébert's poems presented a translator, and he also enjoyed the opportunity to translate with his daughter because, as he put it, "two pairs of eyes are better than one." Because it was Brown's translations that Barnstone was dissatisfied with, comparing the two translations would seem to make sense.

Barnstone	**Brown**
My heart is on my fist like a blind falcon	Perched on my wrist, my heart, Like a blind falcon.
The taciturn bird clutching my fingers A lamp swollen with wine and blood, I go down Toward the tomb of kings Astonished Scarcely born.	The taciturn bird clutching my fingers Lamp swollen with wine and blood, I go down Toward the tomb of kings Astonished, Barely born.
What thread of Ariadne leads me Along the deaf labyrinths The echoing steps are swallowed one by one.	What Ariadne's thread draws me Along thudding labyrinths? Echoes of footsteps are swallowed as they fall.
(In what dream Was this child tied by the ankle Like a spellbound slave?)	(In what dream What this child tied by the ankle Like some fascinated slave?)
The author of the dream Squeezes the thread And naked steps come One by one	The author of the dream Tugs at the thread And naked feet are heard

Like the first drops of rain On the floor of wells.	One by one Like the first drops of rain In a well's depth.
The smell already moves in bloated storms Oozes under doorsills Into rooms, secret and round. Where the confined beds are stiffly erect.	Already the smell is moving in swollen storms Oozes under the sills of doors Into round secret rooms Where the enclosed resting-places rise.
The motionless desire of effigies moves me. Astounded I watch Black bones Shining blue encrusted stones.	The still desire of the stone sleepers draws me on. I see astonished In the black bones themselves The glow of blue encrusted stone.
A few tragedies, patiently carved out On the chests of kings, are displayed As if they were jewels And are offered to us Without tears or regret.	A few tragedies patiently fashioned On the chests of supine kings In place of jewels These are offered me Without regret or tears.
In a single row: Incense, dry rice cake. And my quivering flesh: Ritual and submissive offering.	Ranged in a row: Smoke of the incense, rice-cakes dried And my trembling flesh: A humble ritual offering.
The gold mask on my absent face Purple flowers like the pupils of my eyes, Love's shadow paints me in small precise lines And my bird breathes And sobs strangely.	The mask of gold upon my absent face Violet flowers for pupils The shadow of love paints my face with careful needle-strokes; And this bird I have Breathes loudly Raising its strange complaint.
A long shudder Like the wind catching tree after tree Stirs seven great ebony pharaohs In their solemn and ornate coverings.	A long shudder Like the wind catching tree after tree Shakes seven great ebony Pharaohs In their solemn gilded cases.
It's only the depth of death that survives, Simulating the last torment Looking for appeasement And its eternity	It is but the last fathom of death persisting Miming a final torment Seeking relief And its own eternity

In a light tinkling of bracelets, Vain ring games of other places Around the sacrificed flesh.	In a soft clatter of bracelets Vain playthings from elsewhere Circling the sacrificed flesh.
They sleep and drink, Avid for the fraternal source of evil in me; Seven times I've known the vise of bones And the dry hand that looks through the heart to break it.	Hungry for the fraternal source of evil in me They lay me down, they drink me; Seven times I feel the tightening vice of bones And the dry hand seeking my heart to crush it.
Livid and glutted on a horrible dream My limbs unraveled The dead outside of me, assassinated, What reflection of dawn wanders here? Why does this bird tremble And turn its punctured eyeballs Toward the morning?	Livid and stated from a horrid dream My limbs set free And the dead out of me, assassinated What glimmer of dawn is this, wandering lost? How comes it that this bird Trembles and turns towards morning His punctured eyes?

Both translators take a number of liberties with the poem. And while Barnstone did not like Brown's translation, he still would seem to have adopted some ideas about the poem from Brown's translation. Take for example, the line "Là où sont dressés les lits clos." A difficult line to translate due to the fact that there does not exist an equivalent term in English to translate "lits clos." Brown, however, translates the line as "Where the enclosed resting-places rise," and while Hébert approved of "enclosed resting-places," Brown adds "rise" to the line, a meaning that is not present in the French. Barnstone would seem to go even further with that particular image, translating the line as "Where the confined beds are stiffly erect." "Stiffly erect" would seem to be more of a translation of "rise" than "dressés" from the original French. One of the greatest liberties that Barnstone takes with the poem is in verse thirteen where he inverts the order of the first two lines, changing "Avides de la source fraternelle du mal en moi/Ils me couchent et me boivent" to "They sleep and drink/Avid for the fraternal source of evil in me."

There is also the obvious error: "Ils me couchent" is not "They sleep" but in fact to "lay me down." This mistake would seem to remove, or at least obscure the symbolic rape which is central to the poem. In the same verse, the line "Et la main sèche qui cherche le coeur pour le rompre" becomes "And the dry hand that looks through the heart to break it." Nowhere in the original French is there an indication of the word "through" and it is unclear why Barnstone chooses to include the word in the translation.

Overall, however, we can see the difference in style between the two translators and begin to understand why Barnstone did not approve of Brown's translations. Other than the mistakes mentioned above, Barnstone remains more faithful to the original French version, taking fewer liberties with the translation than Brown. Barnstone also works to maintain Hébert's economy of language, and creates a more laconic translation than does Brown. Barnstone also seems to try to recreate sound patterns more often than Brown; Barnstone is not afraid to create the "obvious" rhymes that Scott tries to avoid (*Dialogue* 67) as well as other sound patterns. In verse five, we have "come/one"; in verse seven, "bones/stones"; in verse ten, "eyes/lines"; in verse twelve, "torment/appeasement" and "bracelets/places." Both translators make mistakes in their translations, but Barnstone does create a translation that is closer to his philosophy of translation than Brown's.

Free Translation? Pallister

Janis Pallister makes no mention of any other translations of "The Tomb of Kings," nor does she acknowledge the existence of the *Dialogue*. Not surprisingly, hers is by far the "freest" translation of Hébert's original French. In this final analysis of the chapter, going back to the original French would seem to make the most sense. Below is

Pallister's poem alongside Hébert's "Le Tombeau des rois." The French version is the one that appears in *Poèmes* (1960).

Pallister	**Hébert**
I clench my heart on my fist Like a blind falcon	J'ai mon coeur au poing Comme un faucon aveugle.
The taciturn bird caught in my fingers Lamp swollen with wine and blood. I descend Towards the tomb of kings Astonished Scarcely born.	Le taciturne oiseau pris à mes doigts Lampe gonflée de vin et de sang, Je descends Vers les tombeaux des rois Étonnée À peine née.
What Ariadne's thread leads me Along the muted labyrinth? The echo of footsteps is devoured there As I proceed	Quel fil d'Ariane me mène Au long des dédales sourds? L'écho des pas s'y mange à mesure.
(In what dream Was this girlchild tied by the ankle Like an entranced slave?)	(En quel songe Cette enfant fut-elle liée par la cheville Pareille à une esclave fascinée?)
The author of the dream Presses on the thread And the bare footsteps fall One by one Like the first raindrops At the bottom of the well	L'auteur du songe Press le fil, Et viennet les pas nus Un à un Commen les premières gouttes de pluie Au fond du puits.
Already the odor stirs in swollen storms Sweats under the doorsteps In the round, secret chambers Where the closed beds stand in a line	Déjà l'odeur bouge en des orages gonflés Suinte sous les pas des portes Aux chambres secrètes et rondes, Là où sont dressés les lits clos.
The motionless desire of the recumbent ones Pulls me towards them. I watch with astonishment	L'immobile désir des gsants me tire. Je regarde avec étonnement À même les noirs ossements Luire les pierres bleues incrustées.

The incrusted blue stones shining Next to the blackened bones	
A few tragedies patiently elaborated, Couched on the breast of kings In place of jewels Are offered to me Without tears or regrets.	Quelques tragédies patiemment travaillées, Sur la poitrine des rois, couchées, En guise de bijoux Me sont offertes Sans larmes ni regrets.
Arranged in a single line: The smoke of incense, the cake of dry rice And my quivering flesh: Ritual and dutiful offering.	Sur une seule ligne rangés: La fumée d'encens, le gâteau de riz séché Et ma chair qui tremble: Offrande rituelle et soumise.
The golden mask on my absent face Violet flowers instead of pupils The shadow of love makes up my face With accurate little strokes; And this bird I've inhaled Laments so strangely	Le masque d'or sur ma face absente Des fleurs violettes en guise de prunelles, L'ombre de l'amour me maquille à petits traits précis; Et cet oiseau que j'ai respire Et se plaint étrangement.
A long shudder Like the wind which picks up from tree to tree Shakes seven ebony pharaohs In the solemn bejeweled cases.	Un frisson long Semblable au vent qui prend, d'abre en abre, Agite sept grands pharaons d'ébène En leaurs étuis solonnels et parés.
It is only the depth of death that persists Simulating the final torment Seeking her appeasement And her eternity	Ce n'est que la profondeur de la mort qui persiste, Simulant le dernier tourment Cherchant son apaisement Et son éternité
In a slight clinking of bracelets Circle empty reflections of other places Around the sacrificed flesh	En un cliquetis léger de bracelets Cercles vains jeux d'ailleurs Autour de la chair sacrifiée.
Thirsty to sip at the fraternal spring of evil in me They lay me down and drink me; Seven times I know the vice of bones	Avides de la source fraternelle du mal en moi Ils me couchent et me boivent; Sept fois, je connais l'étau des os

And the withered hand that seeks out the heart So it may break it.	Et la main sèche qui cherche le coeur pour le rompre.
Livid and stuffed with horrible dream	Livide et repue de songe horrible
My members unknotted	Les membres dénoués
And the dead outside of me, murdered,	Et les morts hors de moi, assassinés,
What reflection of dawn strays here?	Quel reflet d’aube s’égare ici?
How does it come that this bird quivers	D’où vient donc que cet oiseau frémit
And turns toward morning	Et tourne vers le matin
His pupils put out?	Ses prunelles crevées?

The first line already betrays Pallister’s ignorance of the *Dialogue*, as “J’ai mon coeur au poing” becomes “”I clench my heart on my fist,” a connotation that Hébert clearly did not intend (*Dialogue* 55). At the end of the third verse, Pallister adds an extra line, and an extra explanation with “As I proceed,” which would seem to be a misunderstanding of the French. Pallister, in the next verse, does manage to convey the sex of the protagonist by using the word “girlchild.” She also creates a poetic sound in the sixth verse, with “Already the odor stirs in swollen storms/Sweats under doorsteps” with the “s” sound, but then once again adds meaning that is not present in the French at the end of the verse when “Là où sont dressés les lits clos” becomes “Where the closed beds stand in a line.” In the next verse, she changes the first line into two, and reverses the order of the last two lines, once again adding meaning by translating “À même les noirs ossements/Luire les pierres bleues incrustées” as “The incrusted blue stones shining/Next to the blackened bones.” As mentioned in a previous chapter, perhaps the most comical error that Pallister makes is when she misunderstands the lines “Et cet oiseau que j’ai respire/Et se plaint étrangement” and translates them as “And this bird I’ve inhaled/Lament so strangely.” Verse twelve starts out promisingly with “It is only the depth of death that persists,” which does not exactly recreate the sound of the original French but nonetheless creates its own sound pattern, but then inexplicably uses the pronoun "her" for "son" in the original French. One wonders why death is a woman.

This poem, in its "final" form, resembles the drafts of the other poets' translations, with the mistakes and seemingly sloppy misunderstandings, which were subsequently corrected. Did Pallister read any of the other translations, or even pass the poem along for proofreading? Anyone reading Pallister's translation must have wondered at the very least about the "inhaled bird." Because of the obviously sloppy mistakes, it is difficult to tell if Pallister's philosophy towards translation is simply one that grants her a high degree a freedom. But it is clear that if Pallister did read other translators or *Dialogue*, she did not feel as if she needed to heed any of that advice.

Conclusion

How does one go about choosing the "best" translation of Hébert's most famous poem? Which one of Scott's three translations does one select? Brown or Barnstone? Miller or Weaver? Pallister? Each poem offers some successful lines, passages. The definition of the "best" translation is also debatable. Is it remaining as close to the original as possible? Or is it recreating the best possible poem in English? We see the translators themselves move between being source oriented and target oriented as time moves forward. We also see the translators adapt advice and feedback from various sources in different ways. In studying this particular poem, we also get to see if Hébert herself has changed her view towards her poem (for the most part, she does not).

One of the challenges of looking at so many translations of the same poem in tandem is that it is easy to forget the beauty and power of the original, as well as the strengths that each individual translation possesses. In the end, Scott is the most succinct in his observations about "The Tomb of Kings" and translation in general:

> A good poem, like "Le tombeau des rois," is inexhaustible in its subtleties and meanings, and the more it is reread the better it is understood.
>
> A translation can thus never be said to be finally completed, even for one translator. Whenever he is not quite happy with a particular rendering, another is always possible. (*Dialogue* 93-95)

If every generation indeed requires new translations, then there is much to consider in order to provide yet another version of this masterful poem in English.

Conclusion: The Narrative of Anne Hébert's Poetry in English

Lawrence Venuti, in his article "Translation, History and Narrative" (2004), examines the various ways the history of translation has been shaped, and what kind of narrative these histories create – romance or tragedy. The narrative of the history of the translation of Anne Hébert could be considered a romance. A romance because of the love and affection most translators and editors of her poetry have shown; a romance because of the parallels between how Hébert was understood in French and how she was understood in English; but a romance mostly because Hébert was finally being understood in the way that she had fought to be: as a poet. She often claimed not to be a nationalist or a feminist, but a humanist - sentiments she reiterates in the final interview before her death in 2000: "Les êtres vivants, qu'ils soient d'origine québécoise, française ou espagnole, m'attirent et me passionnent. Je tâche d'atteindre en chacun d'eux ce qu'il y a d'humain et d'unique. Je cherche leur âme solitaire et cachée sous les apparences extérieures d'une caste ou d'une nationalité" (Gosselin 9). Although Hébert's poetry was translated (and manipulated) to certain degree so as to fit the agenda of a particular translator or editor, each of these individual manifestations helped to create the image of the author and poet she strove to be.

Each instance of translation, each anthology, each mention of her poetry in English thus becomes a small part of the whole. Our understanding of that whole is re-informed and re-evaluated as more and more instances of Hébert in English take place. The narrative is far from complete. Helen Vendler, in her review of *World Poetry* (1998), writes: "And one is grateful to the competent translators: even though their work will age and be unsuitable, perhaps, in fifty years, they are renewing literature for half a century" (35). We can only hope that Hébert's poetry will continue to inspire translators, and that her poems will continue to be translated and "manipulated" by the men and women in the middle for years to come.

The Role of Anthologies

This previous observation would seem to bring up the question of the role of anthologies in the formation of the image of the author, and many questions remain in terms of their validity as an object of study in this area. As novelists, Blais and Roy were not as easily included in anthologies. It is difficult to gage exactly how influential any one anthology may have been as sales figures are hard to find (although publishing house archives could provide the answer to the question of sales). Certainly there is proof that certain anthologies became canonical, such a Glassco's, Dudek's or the two anthologies of women poets published by Viking. But even if they are canonical, it is not clear whether or not Hébert plays a central role in the anthologies as judged by readers. Nonetheless, it is important to consider anthologies, if only because they are a form of canon formation and, thus, can be studied as an artifact of literary manipulation, much like the translations themselves.

While I claimed earlier that each anthology is a small piece of a larger picture of Hébert as a poet in English, the picture is incomplete. Taking into consideration all of the anthologies, not all of her poems have been included. The approach of the editors would seem to dictate the selection of her poems, but also frame the same poems in a different context for the reader. Take for example "The Tomb of Kings," the editors who wish to show Hébert as a Quebec writer and a woman writer select the poem as an illustration of their thesis, but so too does the editor who wishes to place Hébert in a more universal context. As you can see from the list of poems included in anthologies, certain poems are privileged over others: "The Tomb of Kings" appears most frequently, not surprising as there is a great deal of critical material available on the poem. But "Eve" is also often cited, as is "The Thin Girl," and both poems that have garnered a lot of attention, particularly from the feminist approach. Certain poems do lend themselves more readily to certain readings, and editors took advantage of that in their selections, using current critical knowledge to further reinforce their approach to Hébert's poems.

It is hard really to criticize, however, the choices made by the editors, and while incomplete, the image of Hébert that one would receive if they were to read all, or even some of the anthologies is not inaccurate. All of her images and themes are presented throughout her oeuvre, and appear in some form in every one of her poems. Certainly, if one does not know about Hébert's role in Quebec literature, a reader would find it difficult to situate her importance nationally in Quebec and Canada if they were only reading her poetry in the context of women writers. And many of the national anthologies ignore the role that women play in her poems. This is problematic, but not an insurmountable challenge for readers who are motivated to find out more on Hébert, as many of the other translators and anthologists were. Ultimately, the anthologies do provide for us a glimpse into the world that shapes literary canons, and we can study how Hébert may have helped shape those canons and be herself shaped in return.

Power Dynamics within the Narrative

As Patricia Godbout states, in the conclusion to her book *Traduction littéraire et sociabilité interculturelle au Canada (1950-1960)*: "Nous avons cherché à préciser les *circonstances* de leur [the translators] action: leur environnement concret (milieu de travail, etc.), le contexte entourant la naissance de telle revue ou de tel livre, les particularités d'un événement donné" (225). The goal of this study is similar: to examine the circumstances and events surrounding the translation and publication of Hébert in English. I wanted to discover how these anthologies and translations were conceived and why; how they were produced and why; and how they were received and why. Examining the dynamics of each context, each individual translation/publication teaches us a great deal about the power of the translator and, to a lesser extent, the editor and how it has evolved over the past half-century.

One immediately notices the difference in attitude between translators F.R. Scott and Alan Brown in their dealings with Hébert. While Scott grants Hébert a great deal of authority and accepts her suggestions graciously, Brown does not and chooses to ignore many of her suggestions in regards to his translations. Scott's case is also fascinating because even though he grants a great deal of authority to Hébert, he nonetheless consolidates his power over the translations by buying the rights to his translations from her, going so far as to offer to oversee her image in English. Scott would appear not to be satisfied with the role of "manipulator" or "rewriter" in the middle, to recall Levefere's terms, but instead seeks to become more of an original creator.

Other individuals would exert their power over Hébert's image through the extra-textual materials included with their translations. The most obvious examples are the introductions and biographies included within the various collections and anthologies discussed. Do these extra-textual materials identify or point the reader to a nationalist interpretation of Hébert's poetry, or connect her with the broader French symbolist tradition? Is she identified exclusively through gender, nationality, or language? Are her other novels or novellas mentioned in the biographical information? This framing takes place above and beyond the translations themselves and the selection of poems to be included. In isolation, each instance of Hébert's translation into English remains a distinct and partial picture of her poetry. The translators and editors have the power to present Hébert to their audience as they see fit. They may rely on external authorities to justify their selections, but nonetheless they choose to present Hébert as they see fit, or more accurately, in order to fit their own agendas.

The power relationship becomes more complex the more players are involved in any given production of a translation. This complex structure of power and authority is highlighted in the case of *Canadian Writing Today*, edited by Mordecai Richler. Richler ultimately held the power to edit and produce his version of the anthology, but not without others trying to assert their own power over his decisions. Initially, the editor at Penguin did not want to include Hébert's poem "A Manor Life" and Scott did not want his translation of the poem published. This is an interesting situation, as Scott exerted his own power over his translations by being sole owner of the copyright, and his previous relationship to Hébert. Richler was free to choose another version of the same poem (Miller had produced a version), but insisted on Scott's. Even more interesting is Richler's framing of the anthology and, thus, Hébert's poem: although housed in a nationalist and, therefore, political anthology, his introduction makes clear Richler's preference for universal criteria for evaluating writing. But this criteria comes intro question with the selection immediately preceding Hébert's poem: P.E. Trudeau's political essay on French Quebec. Neither a work of art nor apolitical, this essay undercuts Richler's own claims to a universal standards for writing. What was Richler's endgame in his selections for the anthology? The extra-textual material, archives and introduction, provide conflicting answers, further highlighting the complexity involving the power of the editor: by placing Hébert's poem immediately after Trudeau's essay, Richler politicizes her poem, something he claims to have sought to avoid.

As time passes Hébert also relinquishes much of her authority over the translations. Perhaps because of the increasing number of her works available in translation, especially into languages she had no access to, and her increasing familiarity with the process, or simply due to her own maturation as an author, one sees Hébert increasingly removing herself from the translation exercise. Or perhaps her experience with Brown soured her to the entire process (although she still allowed his translations to be published). Obviously, it is impossible to know exactly how Hébert's own attitude towards the translation of her works into English evolved, but in studying the history of that process we can see that she became increasingly distant in it.

But even though Hébert removes herself from the process, she will nonetheless continue to have an influence on any future translations of her work: translators will have to address *Dialogue* in future translations of her poetry. The letters included in the *Dialogue* are now a part of the public discourse surrounding Hébert's poetry and the translations, and thus Hébert's words have become a part of what Diaz-Diocartz calls the extra-textual materials, or a part of Hébert's larger oeuvre. Translators are confronted with the question of what to do with the *Dialogue*, to either take Hébert's advice or to willfully ignore what she has said about the translation of her work. We see that consideration in the discussions that translators have had about her work; some like Weaver choose to use the letters, while others like Sloat, while not translating "The Tomb of Kings" would nonetheless choose not to consider such materials. This study also becomes a part of the extra-textual materials, introducing her letters to Alan Brown to a wider audience. Thus, if a translator were to truly consider all extra-textual materials in order to fully understand the author's "personality," the letters discussed in this work must be dealt with. By leaving behind these various records of her thoughts on the translation of her work, Hébert has ensured that her views will have a lasting impact.

Conversely, we also notice that the translators become less interested in the author's authority over the poems as time goes on. While Louis Dudek points Peter Miller in their correspondence to the importance of consulting and bowing to the authority of the original author whenever possible, later translators (Brown, Barnstone, Downes) assert their independence and autonomy from the authority of the author. This is reflected as well in the evolution of the theories of translation. As translators become more aware of their role as manipulator, they seek to assert that power over the original text, as seen in the writings of theorists like Levine ("subversive"), Venuti ("foreignizing") and Godard ("Womanhandling"). Other forms of authority thus take the place of the author, such as current theories, poetics, and the demands of the target audience. As pointed out by Tymoczko and Gentzler, "as Madison Avenue tightened its grip on the United States and the world and pioneered techniques for using mass communications for cultural control, practicing translators began consciously to calibrate their translation techniques to achieve effects they wished to produce in their audience" (xii). This is where Introductions, Prefaces, Afterwards, and notes become important in understanding the project of each translator and editor. Disagree as many will on the validity of each translator's and editor's selection of sources of privileged authority, his or her consistency in applying said sources can be evaluated.

Poet vs. Translator

One of the most striking features of almost all the translators of Hébert's poetry is their position as authors and poets themselves. This creates an interesting internal tension, not only between the poet and the translator during the process of translation, but also concerning their shifting attitudes towards translation more generally. Hébert captured the attention of each translator only briefly, and one wonders if that is a result of the translator/poet losing interest in the author herself or translation in general. Scott never translated again after *Poems of French Canada* (and had not translated much in the years leading up to its publication). There are a number of complex reasons behind Scott's abandonment of translation, one of which was his disappointment over the political situation evolving in Canada at that time. Moreover, given his reaction to Richler's request to include him as a translator, and not a poet in his own right, in the anthology *Canadian Writing Today*, one has to wonder if he was not concerned that his legacy as a translator would over-shadow his legacy as a poet.

We can see a different kind of evolution in Glassco's attitude towards translation. When looking at his reasons for refusing to translate Hébert's *Poèmes*, they appear on the surface to be a rebuff of Hébert's poetry: "The work [*Poèmes*] is unsympathetic to me...translation reveals in the most merciless way their instrinsic intellectual and semantic emptiness" (Glassco Fonds). But they also represent a profound shift in Glassco's over-all attitude towards translation. Compare the comments above with previous comments in regards to translation from his earlier article "The Opaque Medium":

> Why then, it may be asked, make translations of poetry at all? If the result is a loss, a depreciation, a betrayal, surely the expense of effort, the dizzying labour of trying to transmute essence of that most incommensurable thing, a poem, might better be applied elsewhere...But is not this question only another and insidious way to asking why poetry itself should be written? The poet, as Saint-Denys-Garneau found, is aware sooner or later that in pursuing his vocation he is exposing, deprecating and betraying himself, and finally failing to express the reality of his experience, but this does not stop him from writing poetry. In the same way, the devoted translator of poetry will not be balked: he is possessed by the necessity of making a *translation* – in the older, religious sense of a conveyance or assumption, as of Enoch or Elijah – of the vision of reality he has received from a poem, and of communicating his experience to those of another tongue and when he wholly succeeds, as he sometimes does, the sense of achievement is that of poetic creation itself. At the worst, he has made a bridge of sorts. (28)

The hope that translation held for Glassco has seemingly disappeared. It should be noted that Glassco gave up translating, not only Hébert, but anyone at all. It is unclear when and how Glassco's attitude towards the possibility of translating poetry shifted, and when this possibility became an impossibility. Was the poet in Glassco reasserting itself, or was this a more pernicious pessimism that extended beyond translation and into his attitude towards poetry in general? His final collection of poetry (*Montreal)* was published in 1973, and his final collection of translations of Saint-Denys-Garneau appeared in 1975. Between 1975 and his death in 1981, Glassco stopped producing writings of any kind. Abandoning Hébert would appear to reflect a more general abandonment of poetry.

There are any number of reasons why these poet/transltors never translated Hébert again after their initial contact with her poems. G.V. Downes, as described on the back cover of her latest book *House of Cedars*, "Gwladys Downes is known as a poet of restraint and precision. She has chosen to publish very little, but what she has published has left an enduring mark on Canadian literature." This is her first collection of poems since *Out of the Violent Dark* (1978) and contains one translation of Hébert's poetry ("A Cage for the Sun"), which had previously appeared in a special issue of *Ellipse* in 1993 where 21 translators, including Downes, were invited to translate the same poem. The translation of Hébert's poem, as well as other translations of other poets are hidden within the overall collection, thereby privileging the voice of the poet over the voice of the translator.

Of the other poet/translators, Fred Cogswell would appear to have lost interest in the Quebec poets, but not in translation. Geographic proximity would have favoured his shift towards the Acadian poets, as evidenced by the collection *Unfinished Dreams*, an anthology of Acadian poetry in translation which he co-edited and co-translated with Jo-Anne Elder. Willis Barnstone has turned his attention to translating Sappho's poems and the Bible as well as concentrating on his own poetry. One also wonders if he translated Hébert out of necessity specifically for his anthology. Alfred Poulin Jr. died before having the chance to translate more of Hébert's poetry.

Sometimes the decision of whom to translate comes down to crass economic concerns. Peter Miller gave up writing and translating poetry soon after the publication of *The Tomb of Kings*, even leaving Contact Press all together, due to his financial situation and recent marriage (Contact Press Records). Many of the other translators (Slote, Brown and Tostevin) were specifically commissioned to translate Hébert and there appears to be little evidence that they would have translated her poetry otherwise.

Kathleen Weaver chose to focus her translation efforts on Spanish-speaking women poets, perhaps in part because of the demands of the American market. Her translations of Hébert, much like Barnstone's, were to a certain extent out of necessity, and out of the multitude of poets she translated for the two anthologies, the Latin-American women poets perhaps stood out to her more than Hébert's verse.

Unlike Hébert's later novels, all of which were translated by Sheila Fischman, her poetry has not yet found an "official" translator. A number of factors have played into that lack: the voice of the individual Poet overwhelming the voice of the Translator, economic or other forms of necessity, the relatively long time between collections of poetry by Hébert (by the time *Le jour n'a d'égal que la nuit* came out in 1990, most of her original translators had passed away), politics, etc...So although there emerged no single figure to translate Hébert's poetry (who would by extension have a single, unifying control over her image in English), her poetry nonetheless continue to inspire new generations of translators. While her last collection of poetry, *Poèmes pour la main gauche*, remains untranslated into English for the moment, one imagines that it is only a matter of time before a new, young translator "discovers" the power of Hébert's poetry and embarks on the journey to re-create her poetry in English, like so many other translators before her.

Archives and the Future of Translation Studies

Many of the conclusions and insights gathered in this study would have been impossible without the use of archival resources. For example, we would not know the extent of Scott's power over his translations without examining the archives. Or the extent of Louis Dudek's influence on Peter Miller's translations. Or Glassco's process for editing *The Poetry of French Canada in Translation.* Or Barnstone's reasons for translating much of Hébert's poetry himself. The list goes on and on. What the archives reveal about the process, the politics, and the choices each translator and editor makes is invaluable in understanding the complex mediating force that is translation. In the case of Hébert, we see the multitude of forces that worked on her image as an author in English, through translators, editors, mentors, colleagues, and friends. The process is as revealing as the final product, and the process of translating and anthologizing Hébert in English would not have been complete without the archival resources.

Archives reveal the translator as both an individual with personal preferences, biases, aesthetic values, politics, etc., but also as a member of a larger community of translators, authors, editors, and others. How his/her community influences the translator can also be discovered through archives. As put by Diaz-Diocaretz, "In this act of interpretation [translation], the translator's *persona* (the writing-self assumed in the text), the empirical person (individual concrete circumstances, private and cultural presuppositions), and the psycho-social factors external to the work, determine distinct relations in the interplay between [source text] and [receptor text]" (36). Archives can go a long way to illuminating these factors that "may account to a certain extent for the textual strategies chosen, which will in turn affect the receivers response in the [receptor text]" (36). In particular, the personal becomes an interesting factor in possibly influencing the translator. Case in point, during the production of *The Poetry of French Canada in Translation*, John Glassco's wife's mental health was slowly deteriorating. His letters to his closest friends (Scott, Smith), after discussing the progress of the anthology, would contain a health update for his wife. While it is unclear, Glassco's turn away from poetry may have been influenced by the fact that he eventually had to have his wife committed.

This is not to say that the archives are infallible. There is the possibility of being too narrow in focus when approaching certain archives, such as my own ignorance of Glassco's eventual turn away from translating Hébert's poetry, as the letters fell outside of my focus on the making of his anthology. As well, if you were to just focus on one particular translator and their involvement in Glassco's anthology, you would not get a complete picture of the possible implications; for example, if only the letters between Miller and Glassco were consulted, it would remain unclear as to why none of Miller's translations of Hébert were included in the anthology. It is only through consulting all the letters concerning the anthology that you get a complete picture of Glassco's attitude towards all of the translators and their translation. My unfamiliarity with American translators and translation lead me to also remain ignorant of much of what to be found in Poulin's archive, and I was forced to focus on just his translations of Hébert's poetry. At the same time, the archives can be overwhelming, how to limit what letters or what parts of the archive to consult. Looking at Poulin's archives or Scott's archives, there are volumes and volumes of letters and manuscripts to go through in order to find what you are looking for, or perhaps find something you never considered.

But archives, much like more traditional publication, are human productions and, thus, mediated. Although Poulin thanks Hébert for her correspondence with him, his archives do no contain any such letters. Did Poulin purposefully exclude those letters, or were they lost? Individuals can choose which letters and manuscripts are included for public consultation, thus altering what can be known about them. Limits on access to archives can also alter our perception of an author. F.R. Scott has archives housed at Queen's University that will only be accessible to the public in 2035, or 50 years after his death. Authors can also neglect to recognize the possible importance of drafts and different versions of their translations, as illustrated in the case of Cogswell, who used the other side of the pages containing old drafts of poems for letters, and other drafts, thereby confusing the organization of his archives. There also needs to be someone who is interested in housing the archives, and believe that they have some value to current and future researchers. In the case of Hébert, many of the people involved in the translations of her poetry were poets of some renown, and their archives were considered valuable. But others, such as academics who edited anthologies or lesser-known translators, might not have their records and archives preserved somewhere. Thanks to the efforts of Breon Mitchell at Indiana University, translator archives in the US are being collected for future researchers, archives that may not have been preserved otherwise. And sometimes, life gets in the way of keeping good records. Hébert's personal archives at the Université de Sherbrooke are quite sparse, in part because of all of her moves to Paris, around in Paris and back to Quebec, but also because of a fire and a flood that affected her personal belongings while in Paris.

The archival materials available do provide a rich resource for the field of translation studies, in terms of either understanding the manipulation or writing the narrative, among others, that remains largely untapped. In Canada alone, the archives of Glassco, Miller, and Brown contain letters and drafts of translations only briefly dealt with in this study. Elsewhere, the Poulin and Barnstone Mss. can reveal much about translation politics external to those in Canada. The perspective adapted for the purpose of this study was to select an author and work from there, but the opposite is equally possible, if perhaps even more manageable: starting from the perspective of the translator or editor and working forward from there. Hébert was but one of many authors translated by each translator, and but one of the many poets included in the anthologies.

The Larger Narrative: Anne Hébert's Complete Works in English

Myriam Diaz-Diocartz explains that translator, as omniscient reader, must "know not only the existence of the source text in its tradition and cultural milieu, but also knowledge of the language and the cultural significance of the [source text] is necessary... the translator needs to understand the textual and extra-textual components" (16). Part of these extra-textual materials is the entire corpus of the author in question (9). This study limited itself to Hébert's poems, but her entire oeuvre can and should be considered as part of a coherent whole. Both *Le Torrent* and *Le Tombeau des rois* introduce the reader to the themes and images that will populate Hébert's literary landscape throughout her oeuvre. The title story of *Le Torrent* is the tale of a troubled relationship between mother and son, and their lasting effects. The simple opening lines of the novel not only introduces the reader to the main character, but also to the sparse poetic style and haunting images that populate Hébert's literary world: "J'étais un enfant dépossédé monde. Par le décret d'une volonté antérieure à la mienne, je devais renoncer à toute possession en cette vie. Je touchais au monde par fragments…" (*Le Torrent* 19). It is the limited perspective of the child taken to the extreme and in this case, limited as a result of his mother's actions. The child would figure prominently in many of Hébert's works: the young girl who makes the journey down to *Le Tombeau des rois*, Catherine, Michel, and Lia's traumatic childhoods in *Les chambres de bois* (which also recalls the title of one her poems "La Chambre de bois"), the murdered girls who wander the shores in *Les fous de Bassan*, the haunted children of *Les enfants du sabbat*, the sheltered childhoods of Julien and Hélène that appear in *L'enfant chargé des songes*, the isolation and awakening of Aurélien in *Aurélien, Clara, Mademoiselle et le Lieutenant anglais* and finally the sexual questioning of young Miguel in *Un habit de lumière*. Each one of these children that Hébert has created could have uttered the line: "J'étais un enfant dépossédé du monde."

Hébert has also probed the question of religion in her works, more specifically how religion can be used to oppress rather than to liberate. François, the young boy in *Le Torrent*, is at the mercy of his mother and is made to pay for her sins, namely having a child outside of wedlock: "Il faut se dompter jusqu'aux os. On n'a pas idée de la force mauvaise qui est en nous! Tu m'entends, François? Je te dompterai bien, moi…" (*Le Torrent* 20). In the title poem of *Le Tombeau des rois*, the young girl is prepared to be sacrificed before the seven dead kings: "Avides de la source fraternelle de mal en moi/Ils me couchent et me boivent;/Sept fois, je connais l'étau des os/Et la main sèche qui cherche le coeur pour le rompre" (*Oeuvre* 54). Religion is a tool of fear, rather than salvation in Hébert's universe. Although seemingly a direct reference to the dominance Catholic Church in Quebec, Hébert encouraged readers to look beyond the boarders of her home province: "Je m'étonne quand la critique décrit *Le Torrent* comme le symbole du Québec enchaîné. C'est une abstraction. Il faudrait plutôt s'interroger sur la fonction de la mère, de la religion, ce sont des problèmes essentiels du moins en ce qui me concerne" (Vanasse 446).

In order to explore a character's inner self, Hébert would often use fantasy, the fantastic and the idea of "le songe." Translated as "dream" in all of her works, the

English word does not carry the same weight as the French term, as expressed by Hébert herself to Frank Scott in a correspondence regarding his translations of the poem "Le Tombeau des rois": "*Dream*. Le français a deux mots, l'un de la vie courante: *rêve*, et l'autre, plus rare et littérare: *songe*. L'anglais n'a pas cette nuance" (*Dialogue* 58). It is unfortunate the no word in English exists as an equivalent to "songe," as the term appears in virtually all her works. There is also a sense of passivity to those who are experiencing the dreams, as in "Le Tombeau des rois": "(En quel songe/Cette enfant fut-elle liée par la cheville/Pareille à une esclave facinée?)" (*Oeuvre* 52). These dreams are often nightmares, exposing the dark side of human nature: the demonic figures in *Les enfants du sabbat*, the vampire in *Héloise*, the dead husband who visits Elisabeth in her dreams or the dead girls who haunt Pastor Nicolas Jones in *Les fous de Bassan*. As many of the characters that Hébert creates submit to what they believe to be an escape from their lives into a realm of fantasy and dreams, they quickly realize that it is nothing but an illusion hiding a nightmare. Perhaps this image is most clearly articulated in *Un habit de lumière*, where both mother and son find refuge in the fantastic world of the nightclub *Paradis perdu*, a world of artifice and pageantry, seduced by a performer, Jean-Ephrem de la Tour, a world that is ultimately revealed to be false and an illusion: "Le loft de Jean-Ephrem de la Tour ne brille plus, vaste et profond à perte de vue. Il est plein de noirceur dans tous les coins. Vide surtout à décourager de vivre" (*Un habit* 129). The darkness where Miguel had found refuge reveals itself to be ultimately vacuous and empty, causing him to ultimately seek out a suit of light.

Un habit de lumière would mark the end of Hébert's long and illustrious literary career. But as she observed in an interview: "Depuis *Le Torrent* mon langage n'a pas dévié" (Morrissette 54). It serves as an interesting comparison, looking at the title story from *Le Torrent* alongside her final novel. *Un habit de lumière* does represent a new direction in Hébert's writing. The Almevida family is her first family not of French origin, and Miguel's transgender identity is also new ground for Hébert. However, both share a similar structure to the story: part one deals with the young boy and how the relationship with his mother has shaped him, part two with the impact the mother-son relationship has on a romantic one. Both stories take place in relative poverty and under the shadow of Catholicism. Echoes can also be found in Hébert's final novel of *Le Tombeau des rois*. In *Un habit de lumière*, Miguel asks the following: "Qui donc m'a conduit jusqu'ici? Me tirant par la main, me poussant aux épaules, m'emmenant là où je m'étais juré de ne plus jamais revenir?" (125). In *Le Tombeau des rois*, one of the poems observes:

> Il y a certainment quelqu'un
> Qui m'a tuée
> Puis s'en est allé
> Sur la pointe des pieds
> Sans romper sa danse parfaite (*Oeuvre* 44)

And in the title poem:

> Quel fil d'Ariane me mène
> Au long des dédales sourds?
> L'écho des pas s'y mange à mesure.
> . . .
> L'auteur du songe
> Presse le fil,
> Et viennent les pas nus
> Un à un
> Comme les premières gouttes de pluie
> Au fond du puits. (*Oeuvre* 52)

Much like the classic tragedy, the two boys, François and Miguel, are suffering for the sins of those who came before them, powerless, despite their best efforts, to overcome their fates. Someone has certainly led the characters to their ends.

The translations of Hébert's novels are perhaps more illustrative of Hébert's increasing importance and influence; initially, her novels and short stories do not appear in translation until after *Kamouraska* is published, which, following more closely Casanova's theory of the universal, receives high praise in France and goes on to be translated into English a scant three years after it's publication in French. Hébert's final novel appears in English a mere year after publication in French. Hébert's novels, particularly *Kamouraska*, help with Hébert's image as an author in English, as novels are a more popular form of literature than the poem. The novels can also influence the translators, as they now have a larger body of extra-textual materials to consult (or not, as the case may be).

It is difficult to compare Hébert's case in English to any other author or poet writing in French from Québec. Often, Hébert is grouped together as "the three sisters" of Quebec writing with Gabrielle Roy (who is not from Quebec) and Marie-Claire Blais. According to a number of studies, these three authors are the most translated into English from Quebec. Both other authors are novelists and only Roy achieved the kind of popularity outside of English Canada that Hébert reached with *The Tin Flute*, while Blais was widely known in English for her novel *A Season in the Life of Emmanuel*. But their appeal in English, despite a high number of translations available, would seem to remain limited primarily to these two novels. A comparative study on the translation and reception of these three author's novels, along with Hébert's poetry in English, would be essential in order to fully understand the differences in how each author is perceived in English. On the poetry side, Hébert's success could be compared to Emile Nelligan's; he is also included in the anthology *World Poetry* along with Hébert as the two representatives of Quebec/French Canada. But Nelligan never reached the same level of recognition in English as Hébert more generally. As a poet, Nelligan never published a novel like *Kamouraska* that propelled him to literary fame in English. It would seem that it is Hébert's complete body of work, both poetry and novels, that seem to have assured her a place as a universal literary figure.

Is there something about Hébert that lead her to such a large number of translations, translators and instances in English? Why has Hébert transcended to the level of universal author? If we use Casanova's criteria for achieving "littérarité," then certainly has reached that status. Casanova identifies Paris as being the "capital de l'univers littéraire" (41) or the "lieu transnational dont les seuls impératifs sont ceux de l'art et de la littérature" (49); in other words, the place where an author must achieve greatness in order to be a part of the universal. Hébert certainly fits that criteria; in fact she follows the same path as many authors identified by Casanova, fleeing the repression of Quebec in the 1950s, Hébert sought (and achieved) artistic freedom and recognition in Paris. Casanova goes on to differentiate between "les écrivains nationaux (ceux qui se réfèrent à la définition nationale ou 'populaire' de la littérature)" and "les écrivains internationaux (ceux qui ont recours au modèle autonome de la littérature" (157). It is clear also that Hébert fits into this second category of international writer; she certainly did not fit into what was considered popular, or at least acceptable, in Quebec when she began writing, and statements that she has made, some repeated in this study, further reinforce her commitment to a more universalist notion of literature, or at least a less nationalistic one.

So if Hébert has already achieved universal status, or status as a world author according to Casanova, why even bother looking at her translations into English? Casanova provides an answer: "La traduction est la grande instance de consécration spécifique de l'univers littéraire...elle est une forme de reconnaissance littéraire" (188). In this case, Casanova is talking primarily about translations in French. But in her Preface to the English translation, *The World Republic of Letters*, she states:

> Translation...is one of the principal means by which texts circulate in the literary world. And so I am pleased that this book...should be itself internationalized through translation into English. In this way its hypotheses will be able to be scrutinized in a practical fashion, and its propositions debated at a truly transnational level, by the various actors in international literary space. (xiii)

Casanova herself acknowledges the central position English has achieved in the distribution of, in this case, ideas, but also literature. Paris may be the pole around all truly world literature is judge, but English is the language to assure transnational attention. Hébert in English is important in understanding her larger journey in world literature.

But the question still remains, why has Anne Hébert's poetry been translated so often into English? I would argue that it comes down to means and opportunity, not to mention timing, for the translators who worked on her poems. If we look at when her poems began to appear in English, it reflected the beginning of a cultural awakening in both English and French Canada. F.R. Scott's project was both political and personal, in his goals to create bridges between French and English Canada, as well as invigorating what he saw as stagnant English Canadian poetry. This project, as shown in chapter one, would have a lasting impact on how French Canadian poetry, particularly Hébert, was translated and understood in English Canada. The rise in both Canadian and Quebec nationalism fueled more translators, and provided much-needed funds to support publishing these translations, both as a nation building and bridge building exercise. The public equally had an appetite for these translations, making them commercially viable, and more likely to be repeated. Hébert was by now both locally and internationally renowned, and when the project of building a canon of women poets came about, Hébert would seem like a logical choice for those creating the anthologies, not to mention the opportunity to introduce a poet of her stature to an American audience, as in the case of Poulin or even Pallister. Again, the market was hungry for such books, which made them an economically smart choice on the part of the publishers paying for the projects.

But there would seem to be something else to her attraction to translators. Why so many different translations? Indeed, Hébert's poems are deceptively simple in their form and composition and yet provide a challenging project for any willing translator. But something that returned over and over again was the sentiment expressed by many of the translators of how Hébert's poetry reached out and touched them in a way that forced them to pick up a pen and translate. Each translator, regardless of sex, nationality, or political project, found something in the poems that communicated to them on a very basic, yet complex, level. Her ability to appeal to many different groups of people, but mainly *poets*, would seem to imply that there is something universal to her poetry, something that communicates to the reader almost immediately. Anne Hébert's poetry is beautiful and haunting, skillfully crafted and moving, even (to take the words of many of her translators) inspiring. This is perhaps the best way to describe the journey of Hébert's poetry into English: the poetry itself inspired that journey.

To my knowledge, there is no equivalent example from Quebec. Emile Nelligan's poetry was translated twice, and only once were his complete poetic works translated into English, which is even still an exception to the rule. Most Québécois poets had their works translated once completely, and perhaps twice more (usually by Scott or for Glassco's anthology). An exception would be the more recent feminist poets who are associated with the Tessera group, but even still, the French poets typically would end up working with one of her sisters from the English side on the translations. Certainly in the history of literature, there exist authors whose poems have been translated many times over throughout history. But to find a contemporary situation comparable to Hébert's, we will need to look beyond the Canadian borders. Perhaps there exist some Latin-American poets whose poems have inspired a great number of translators to attempt to translate them. Certainly they must exist, and perhaps their journeys into English, or some other language, parallels Hébert's journey.

Found *through* Translation: A Poet

It is through translation, although mediated, manipulated, and imperfect, that for many the poet Anne Hébert is discovered. Although F.R. Scott may have initiated much that came after, and created some of the most lasting images of Hébert in English, it is the poet herself and her poetry that link all of the editors and translators studied here. It is through translation that Hébert's reputation is expanded and celebrated, her poetry perpetuated. Her popularity in French in both Canada and in Europe is not to be discounted or dismissed as an important factor in her transition into English and, thus, into the global canon, but it is overshadowed in many instances by the English translators and editors who chose to celebrate her achievement. This romantic narrative, this love affair between the translators and editors and Hébert in individual instances could be considered tragic due to the many mistakes, misunderstandings, and manipulations, but in the end the goal of Hébert to be seen as simply a poet is largely achieved.

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